HENRY VII.

PRINCE ARTHUR

AND

CARDINAL MORTON

NICHOLAS MONK

RECTOR OF PLYMTREE

JOHN LAND

&c

25/

Rev. W. J. Copeland

Farnham. Bishop's Stortford

With the Rector of Plymtree's kind remembrance

Helen Teale

Greenwood

Stotty Budge

INTERIOR OF PLYMTREE CHURCH.

HENRY VII

PRINCE ARTHUR

AND

CARDINAL MORTON

From a Group representing the Adoration of the Three Kings on the Chancel Screen of Plymtree Church in the County of Devon.

In Chromolithography by M. and N. Hanhart.

83, *Charlotte Street, Rathbone Place.*

WITH A

NOTICE

AND AN APPENDIX ON "NICHOLAS MONK, RECTOR OF PLYMTREE;" "JOHN LAND," &c.

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HENRY VII

PRINCE ARTHUR

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From a Group representing the Adoration of the Three Kings on the Chancel Screen of Plymtree Church in the County of Devon.

THE title of this Notice will suggest two questions of very different import. Who was Cardinal Morton? Where is Plymtree? Strange as it may seem, there are probably more persons who can answer the latter of these questions than can answer the former. Upon mentioning to a good many acquaintances the discovery that he had made, the writer found, by the doubtful looks and the cautious replies with which it was received, that it would be better not to introduce it to even a well-read man without a word of preparation. The Cardinal was the most remarkable Englishman of his period, which was the latter half of the fifteenth century, and it would not be easy to name any man who has served his country more faithfully or more ably, or who has conferred on it greater or more lasting benefits. But the truth is the sixteenth century began by destroying much of the work of the fifteenth, and ended by eclipsing its

memory. The British Reformation was the most sweeping act of destruction this country ever knew. The very pains which pious and religious men had taken to attract and concentrate in the great establishments of the Church the best of men and of things, and all that ennobled life or adorned it, made the ruin greater. Monuments, libraries, records, paintings, works of art of every kind, perished and passed away, to be forgotten as if they had never been. And so it came to pass that a man who had filled one age, had hardly a recognition in that which followed, and then finally disappeared. But it has to be admitted that the chief characters and the most striking episodes of that period, when they do emerge from the confusion and gloom of almost continual disaster, have no very evident and direct bearing on the questions of religious truth and liberty, constitutional development, or other topics now occupying the minds of Englishmen. Even the little the fifteenth century had is taken away and given to swell the excessive glories of that which followed. With hardly an exception, modern historians and essayists apologize for the scant notice, or utter neglect, with which they pass over it, on the ground that it produced no great men—that it brought out no virtues—that it did nothing great or good—and that it wasted the strength of the country in fruitless continental wars, or in the selfish quarrels of ambitious nobles and royal pretenders. It is forgotten that the fifteenth century invented printing, that it began with a few MSS., and ended with printed libraries; that it was the parent of the sixteenth century, and bridged over the gulf between the middle ages and modern times. We are solemnly told that for several generations our constitution was then in abeyance, law was disregarded, learning and religion were at their lowest

degeneracy, abuses of all kinds were having their way, and that even the freer spirit and reforming tendencies exhibited by the Church were owing to the divisions and consequent weakness from which, as it happened, both kings and popes were then suffering. When even the good is explained by the evil there is reason to suspect prejudice and unfairness. Our historians are not only unfair, they have not even patience with those times. The writers of manuals are driven to these summary condemnations by the impossibility of either writer or reader mastering the multitude of characters, the intricacy of the plots, and the delicacy of the dynastic controversies, without an effort of mind and memory felt out of proportion to the value of the result. Hence, with regard to that portion of our annals, many Englishmen cannot even say as much as Marlborough did. All he knew of English history, he once said, was from Shakespeare; but there are now educated persons who have not even read Shakespeare's "Henry VI." and "Richard III."

Cardinal Morton is the principal victim of this hard and unmerited sentence of oblivion. He made the Tudor dynasty, and his name is buried under his own creation. A living statesman pronounces Sir Thomas More the first writer of modern English—Sir Thomas More, who was educated from early years by Morton, sent by him to college, and afterwards retained about him, and whose most remarkable narratives and conversations are known to be Morton's own words. Before proceeding to anything like a biography, it may be as well to establish in the mind of the reader that there really was such a man, and that he was a very great man. John Morton was from early years the most distinguished man, the most popular, and by Oxford men the most loved of his age. After the manner of the law of those days, he was the chief civil

and ecclesiastical lawyer; he was the most active man of business, and the ablest negotiator; he was the most trusted friend and councillor of Henry VI. (that is of his queen), of Edward IV. and of Henry VII.; acting as councillor, too, in the reign of Edward V., as in the well-known scene in the play. He joined the Roses, that is, he brought about the union of the Houses of York and Lancaster, for that was his doing, and, so far as can now be seen, would not have been done but for him.

From this the transition is great, but necessary, to the second question in the opening words of this Notice. Why should the only extant representation of such a man be found at Plymtree, and what sort of a place is that? It is a small and secluded Devonshire village, between the two ancient lines of route from London to Exeter, at this point half a dozen miles apart. A few words of description will serve to explain to those who are unacquainted with the heart of Devonshire, and know only its picturesque coasts and its great Moor, how it is that the county has been able to perform so considerable a part in our annals. Polwhele, writing in 1797, says: "Plymtree is inclosed and well wooded; but most "remarkable for the number of flourishing orchards, from "which a prodigious quantity of excellent cyder is made "in a bearing year;" 3,000 hogsheads, he might have said. "The farm-houses are scattered wide over the parish, each "buried in its orchards. A very rich, deep, red, marly "soil runs through the parish, the whole of which is in "high cultivation." Risden says: "This manor by Peverell "and Hungerford descended to the Hastings family, of "whom Henry, late Earl of Huntingdon, sold it to Good-"win." "Plymtree," says Sir W. Pole, "was, 27 Henry "III., in controversy between Sir Robert Fitzpayne and "Aubrea de Botreaux; but Fitzpayne possest it. Sir

"Manger de St. Awbyn held the same, Sir Thomas "Courtney purchased it, and was Lord thereof, 19 of "Edward III. And by Peverell and Hungerford, who "possessed it in the time of Henry VI., it descended "to Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, who sold the "manor to Thomas Goodwyn, from whom it descended "to his daughter, and in the next generation was dismem-"bered to the tenants and others."

The last mentioned "Hungerford, who possessed the "manor of Plymtree in the time of Henry VI.," was with that king at the battle of Hexham, and, being taken prisoner, was beheaded by Edward IV. Plymtree then became the possession of his daughter and sole heir Mary, who, as a prize of war, was married to the only son of the "illustrious Lord Hastings," as Fuller styles him, then Lord Chamberlain to Edward IV., and his dearest, though not wisest, friend. This marriage was itself a union of the Roses, but Mary, Baroness Hungerford, the Lancastrian heiress, would seem to have ruled the politics of the new house. There is a portrait of her, on panel, holding forward a large red rose, at Donington Park. If her quaint linen cap is the widow's cap of the period, the painting would not date earlier than 1507, or later than 1511, when she married Richard Sacheverell, afterwards knighted, who lived to give evidence of the scandal caused to English feeling by Henry's marriage with Catherine; and also to subscribe the Letter to Clement VII., warning him that if he did not agree to the divorce he must expect England to shake off his supremacy. In November, 1482, a few months before the death of Edward IV., young Hastings was summoned to Parliament as Lord Hungerford; and in the following June he succeeded to his father's title, when that nobleman had been dragged out of the Council Room in the

Tower and beheaded by the Protector's order. It is commonly said that, as a matter of course, the estates were confiscated, and that they were soon restored, part by Richard, and the remainder by Henry VII. So states Mr. H. Nugent Bell, in his work on the Huntingdon Peerage, adding that Richard, while at Reading, a few weeks after, on July 23, being struck with remorse, by letter under his private signet removed the attainder and restored the possessions, except the manor of Loughborough, to which he believed his own wife entitled. On the other hand, the unfortunate nobleman was buried as a Knight of the Garter, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor; and when the late Countess of Loudoun petitioned for and obtained the Baronies of Hastings, Hungerford, Botreaux, and De Moleyns in 1871, no evidence of attainder or reversal appeared, possibly because the Lords had formerly reviewed that matter in the case of the Huntingdon Peerage.

Thus two great political executions, one of a Lancastrian noble, the other of a Yorkist, were represented in the Lord and Lady Hastings of Hungerford holding the manor of Plymtree nearly all the reign of Henry VII. The first Lord Hastings, of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, had been the colleague and for some time the political ally of the Bishop of Ely (afterwards Cardinal Morton), holding office together with him. Both were executors of Edward's will and guardians of his children. The second Lord Hastings, generally distinguished as Lord Hastings of Hungerford, became the intimate friend of Henry VII., and consequently the colleague and associate of Morton, who, till his death in 1500, was the king's chief adviser. On that nobleman's death in 1507, Plymtree became the property of his son George, created Earl of Huntingdon in 1529, who was the intimate friend of Henry VIII., and is mentioned by

historians as having been with him at his invasion of France, and on other occasions. He died in 1544. It may be added that the daughter of Lord Hastings of Hungerford became the wife of the second Lord Derby, grandson of the Lord Stanley who turned the day on Bosworth field.

In the 24th year of Henry VIII., that is, in the year 1533, two years before the Dissolution of Monasteries, but after most of the smaller monastic houses had been dissolved, it appears from a deed in the parish chest in Plymtree Church that George, Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Hastings, Hungerford, Botreaux and Moleyns, granted a piece of land described as measuring 200 feet by 100 feet, contiguous to the churchyard on the east side of the church stile, to seven feoffees or trustees, bearing names still common in this neighbourhood, and as appears from the parish registers, dated 1538, then in this parish. A very substantial and capacious building of that period now exists on this site, called indifferently the church-house or the poor-house—the former to distinguish it from a similar, but inferior, and more ancient block on the west side of the church stile, now removed. The deed, which has the signature of the first Earl of Huntingdon, and is sealed with his family crest, is a grant of the most important site in the village for one hundred years, at a yearly rent of fourpence, without mention of a purpose. Some object therefore has to be conjectured. That was a day of schemes and a day of uncertainty. Possibly there were understood purposes, and the lord of the manor relied on the seven best men of the village for carrying them out. In the consequent series of deeds the building is uniformly called the church-house. It so happens a grant by George, Earl of Huntingdon, in the same century, is

the subject of an application from his three "grandsons" to Lord Bacon complaining that the feoffees, becoming possessors of the estate, neglected the purposes of the Trust, which were for the schoolmaster, usher, and poor—neither object being actually fulfilled by the feoffees.

As the above noblemen were men of great power, high office, and large possessions, it may be objected that ownership of a manor and quiet village, and not even the whole of the soil, in the interior of a south-western county need not imply any special and personal interest in the place, much less such as would lead one to expect in it any trace of their political alliances. The character and circumstances of the property may show this to be not so improbable as may seem. By far the greater part of the buildings in the parish, church, parsonage, homesteads, barns, cyder pounds, and cottages, are of the fifteenth century; as too is the arrangements of the fields, all indicating that the agricultural system as well as the value of the parish was the same then as now; but then mostly in the hands of one owner. Whether in money, or in kind, the rental then could not have been far short of what it is now. Such a rent, even with all its local and personal deductions, would leave a handsome surplus towards the expenses of one of England's greatest nobles at Court, or dividing his holidays between Castle Donington, Higham Ferrars, Daventry, and the newly-built Castle, and newly-inclosed Park of Ashby-de-la-Zouch. But, according to the custom of those days, when it was much easier for the consumers to come to the produce than for the produce to be conveyed to the consumers, it is not unlikely that the landowner, with his dependents, and some friends of equal or higher degree, made occasional visits

in order to receive the rent in kind, as well as the stipulated service of the tenantry. The parsonage is built with mere partitions within the thick cob walls of an ancient refectory, of which the handsome oak screen and projecting gallery, of the same date as the Church, existed ten years ago. This was part either of a capacious manor house, or of a house for clergy living together, and serving from that centre a considerable district, which on that supposition would probably be the ancient rural deanery of Plymtree, only just abolished by the application of the recent Act empowering a new arrangement of the deaneries.

The church, like most of the churches in the neighbourhood, was rebuilt about the year 1460. Its chief ornament is a magnificent screen, stretching right across the interior, and separating the chancel and chancel aisle or chantry from the nave and its aisle. This is profusely carved, painted, and gilded. Several such screens in the county have pictured panels, but Plymtree has long been exceptionally noted for them. If not the best, they are not surpassed. Polwhele, writing in 1797, says: "The screen is very handsome, and "finely carved and gilded, but wants refreshing; and in the "lower panels of it are figures of various saints, painted some-"thing like illuminations in ancient Popish MSS." There are thirty-four of these panels, constituting the solid part of the screen below the open work, and unfortunately below the level of the eye. The figures are evidently of various dates; some are very quaint indeed, as if they had belonged to an earlier church; and some look like later interpolations, perhaps substitutions. It is not easy to make a probable conjecture as to the exact date of either the screen or the pictures; but as the Reformation was coming on rapidly by the year 1525, the date of the latest picture could hardly be later than that; while it is possible, and not even

improbable, that the group to which this notice is prefixed was done in the very lifetime of the persons represented. If the last supposition be accepted, then the date of the painting is not later than 1500, in which year the Cardinal died, Prince Arthur being then fourteen. Henry VII. died in 1509. There cannot be any doubt he is the king represented. Who then is the patriarchal-looking man and who is the boyish Prince in this group? A Prince it must be, the equal of his father, advancing by his side, and looking to him with filial affection, young enough to be in a boyish dress. He is carrying frankincense, not in a censer, or thurible, of any ordinary pattern, but in a vessel made in the form of Morton's *Rebus*, a ton, or cask, with M upon it. It is impossible even to suggest any two persons fulfilling the conditions of this group, except Prince Arthur and Cardinal Morton. Simple as the figures are, they are full of character, and convey distinct and truth-like ideas. They will stand comparison with the popular representations of our royal and other distinguished personages in our shop windows and illustrated newspapers. Whether done in the lifetime or ten or even twenty years after, they must have been painted, and afterwards seen continually, by people familiar with the faces of the King, Prince, and Cardinal, the friends, tenants and retainers of Lord Hastings of Hungerford, and the Earl of Huntingdon, as well as by clergy who must often have seen the Cardinal-Archbishop of Canterbury.

Another possible link between Cardinal Morton and this Church cannot be omitted, whatever its value. Ford Abbey, founded by the ancient family of Ford, or de Fortibus, in an outlying bit of Devonshire, surrounded by Dorsetshire, was for centuries the chief religious centre of a wide district. Cerne Abbas, where Morton was

educated, it is supposed because his uncle resided there, is not many miles off. An important branch of the Ford family was then dwelling at Fordmoor, an estate in Plymtree parish not far from the church, and had been dwelling there from the time of Henry II., as it continued to do till quite recently. It built the aisle of the church, and repaired it till the last century, when an heiress threw it on the parish. As the chancel screen was erected within thirty or forty years of the rebuilding of the church, right across the nave and aisle, that family must be presumed to have contributed to it. It may be added that the manor of Tale in the next parish, but, at that time, adjoining the Ford property in Plymtree, belonged to Ford Abbey.

The artistic merit of these pictures is by no means contemptible in comparison with the few surviving examples of the period, but that is a secondary affair, when it is considered that the representation of Cardinal Morton is the only picture extant which can be reasonably supposed to be even an attempted likeness; and that of Prince Arthur there only survive one or two likenesses. It is not necessary here to give at any length the very interesting history of the painted window at St. Margaret's, Westminster, ordered abroad, some say, by Ferdinand and Isabella for a bridal gift, when their daughter Catherine was affianced to Prince Arthur; as others say, intended as a present from the Magistrates of Dort. Taking five years, it was not finished till after the death of Prince Arthur, and the contract of marriage between Prince Henry and Catherine of Arragon. Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, who has put together with great pains what is known, or conjectured, of this window, states that it came into the hands of the Abbot of Waltham, who kept it in his church till 1540. The last Abbot sent it to New Hall. General Monk bought that place, buried the

window to preserve it, and after the Restoration replaced it in his chapel there. In course of time the chapel was taken down, but the window was preserved. After being in the market for twenty years, it was eventually sold in 1758 for a large sum to the Committee for repairing St. Margaret's Church, of which it is now the east window, and the principal ornament. It was formerly taken for granted that the two figures at the lower corners of the picture were Henry VII. and his Queen. But Mr. Rickman, the eminent architect and antiquary, taking up, it has been said, a conjecture sent to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the last century, maintained that the two figures in question represented Prince Arthur and Catherine of Arragon. This was chiefly on the ground that the man wore only a coronet round his bonnet, and that his mantle was that of a Prince not of a King; while the female figure he thought too youthful for Elizabeth, there being, also, over her head the emblems of the House of Arragon. In a matter of no pressing importance, and beyond the reach of ordinary inquirers, these arguments appear to have been accepted. The chief facts of the case, however, are decidedly adverse. The male figure is that of a middle-aged man, whereas Prince Arthur was not quite sixteen when he died. The female figure bears no resemblance to the well-known features of Catherine; and by the time the window was completed the Prince was some years dead, and the Princess unhappily contracted to his brother. In truth the names given to these two figures, rest on an unsupported and unsifted conjecture, and on the readiness of the public to believe that it possessed at least one likeness of a Prince with so tragic a history, and the centre of such important associations.

At Hampton Court there is a small picture of Henry

VII.'s family, by Mabuse; but, whatever the reason, Prince Arthur is not there. The only boy there, evidently younger than one of his sisters, can be no other than Henry. The picture of Henry VII. and Elizabeth, Henry VIII. and Catherine, in the same collection is a copy, said to be an inferior copy, of the one by Holbein, painted a long time after the death of Henry VII., and lost with many other valuable pictures when Whitehall Palace was destroyed by fire. The features there given to Henry VII. are evidently as ideal as the design of the picture itself. It is stated by some modern writers that all the help either sculptor or painter had for a portrait of Henry VII. was a cast taken by Torrigiano after death, but there are representations with some claims to be thought contemporary, especially one in the National Portrait Collection, which agree well with the descriptions of the king by contemporary writers. Not so the surviving copy of Holbein's picture. In Carter's "Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting" is a head of Henry VII., from a wall-painting in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. It appears to be carefully drawn, and presents handsome features, but not an aquiline nose, or a powerful and well-formed mouth; the king's strength of purpose being rather to be found in the form and size of the lower jaw. The supposed melancholy source of all the portraits has been adduced to account for their grave and anxious expression. That, however, needs no such explanation. The historians of the period say that Henry VII. looked more of a civilian or a churchman than a soldier, and always seemed a prey to some anxiety, which was indeed the real state of the case.

The effigy of Prince Arthur has long disappeared from his magnificent and costly monumental chapel in Worcester

Cathedral, and no trace or characteristic mark of the Prince is now to be found there, though the chapel was covered inside and out with statuettes and devices of legendary and heraldic interest. But in the neighbouring Abbey Church of Great Malvern, formerly subordinate to Westminster, there survive the very interesting and precious likenesses of Prince Arthur and his tutor, Sir Reginald Bray. The large north window of the only remaining transept, like all the other windows of the church—one of them the gift of Richard III.—is full of painted glass. This has at some time been broken to bits, religiously collected, and replaced without an attempt at order. At the foot of the window, appearing out of a brilliant chaos of shattered saints, angels, princes, heads, crowns, emblems, canopies, and glories, are two uninjured figures, which it must have cost the Protestant or Puritan iconoclasts some trouble to spare. The Prince is on his knees before an open book on a low desk, with a gorgeous bed and hangings in the background. He is in armour and knightly spurs, girt with his sword, and arrayed with armorial bearings. He is represented as a mere boy. The face is almost colourless, as are the other faces in the window, but the features are carefully delineated, and are sufficiently like those in the picture before the reader, thoroughly youthful and full of tenderness. Sir Reginald Bray, is behind him, also in armour, on his knees, wearing a mantle "powdered" with large birds' claws, in allusion to his coat of arms. The window, as it stands, is the confused vision of a terrible century, or, rather, of the Middle Ages. Out of it emerge these two personages, on the very brink of another revolution, haply spared its trials because some good was found in them. Sir Reginald Bray died three years after the Prince, and

one year after assisting to lay the first stone of Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster. Here they remain praying for things that were not to be in this present time, and for things that are to be for ever. The fanatics who spared not principalities or powers, whether of earth or from heaven, had not the heart to assail the poor prince and his anxious tutor on their knees. As we look on them we seem to see the grace that was left in the minds of the destroyers. In the east window of the ruinous church at Little Malvern is a like touching example of discriminating rage. It contained, in the best style of the century, Edward IV., his queen, and their children. The two principal figures have been ruthlessly destroyed; but there remain on their knees the Prince of Wales—afterwards Edward V.—a meek, gentle boy, in coronet and mantle, the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards queen of Henry VII., a graceful figure in all the bravery of the period, and three younger children.

Of Cardinal Morton the only other representation known is the recumbent marble effigy over his tomb in the crypt of Canterbury cathedral. It is very much defaced, the nose, and part of the chin are gone; and the mouth itself injured. The history of the crypt accounts for this. Queen Elizabeth granted the use of it to the French Protestant refugees, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but there never was a clear understanding as to the precise nature of the gift. The French Protestants held themselves justified in claiming the whole of the crypt, the largest in England; and they asserted possession by painting French texts in various places. They could only use a small portion, and the rest became a sort of No Man's Land. For a long period it was open; the town boys had the run of it, and made it their playground. Building materials

and rubbish were stowed away in it. The wonder is that any part of the monument, or of the surrounding decorations, or of those in the neighbouring Lady Chapel survived. What remains of the effigy has a sufficient correspondence with this picture. It shows the same large head, ample forehead, and beetling brows, the same full-sized mouth and long upper lip. It does not, however, show a beard. It is possible that Morton, who was a lawyer and statesman rather than a theologian or divine, had always worn a long beard; and when late in life he became Primate and Cardinal did not give it up, though contrary to canonical usage. But there are numerous examples of bearded ecclesiastics. Cardinal Pole wore a long and very luxuriant beard. Bishop Gardiner wore a beard. There is at least one long beard in the Sacred College at this day, by special custom or dispensation. There might be reasons why the exception should not be perpetuated in marble, on the tomb, which was probably the work of Italian or other foreign artists. The dress is more that usually given to the foremost of the "Three Kings" than a Cardinal's. There is indeed what may be supposed to be a cape folded back on the shoulder to disengage the arm, and the fulness of the skirt arises from the genuflection; but the full sleeve is not proper to Cardinals. We should rather expect a tight doublet sleeve showing itself out of a slit. But the truth is the painter had to make a compromise between the tradition and the portraiture. It seems to have been a necessity that the foremost figure in the group should be represented as in this instance, and that the second figure should be more youthful; but while the rule was to give all the figures crowns, that of the foremost laid on the ground, in this group the foremost figure has no crown, and the second wears a youth's cap of

that day. Though the painters observed some very uniform traditions in their treatment of the "Three Kings," they were not bound by them. Peter Haylin, going to head-quarters at Cologne, says: "The first of these, called "Melchior, an old man with a long beard, offered gold as "unto a king; the second, called Jaspar, a beardless young "man, offered frankincense as unto God; the third, called "Balthazar, a Blackmoor with a spreading beard, offered "myrrh as unto a man ready for his sepulchre." In a copy of the *Legenda Aurea*, by Jacobus de Voragine, printed by Caxton in the first year of Richard III., there is a striking and clever wood-cut of the Adoration. In some respects it is very like the group before the reader, in others very unlike. The foremost is Jaspar offering gold. He is partially bald, but has a beard and flowing hair. He has a flowing robe. He kneels on one knee, and has laid his crown on the ground. Behind him are the other kings, the second slightly in advance of the third, and turning to him. The second is young and handsome, with curly hair, and short beard, in a doublet only. He has a crown on his head, and he carries frankincense in a vessel the chief member of which is a dish with a raised edge. The third is also crowned, without beard, with long, straight hair, and a fold of ermine round his neck. All three are booted and girded. The third is middle-aged and suggestive of "my redoubted Lord, King Richard," as Caxton in one place calls him.

The Cardinal died October 12, 1500; Prince Arthur April 2, 1502; and the King in 1509. If the group is to be considered as the record of an actual ceremony in which these three personages took part, its date would be 1499 or 1500. The Prince, though tall, and made to look taller by the genuflection of the Cardinal, is in figure and bearing

only a boy; and, as far as the division into panels would allow, is represented as advancing by his father's side, and looking sideways to him. It is to be observed, too, that while the father wears the long sleeves best known to us through the Master of Arts' gown, the Prince has not yet come to the stage indicated by the old nursery rhyme, "When Arthur first at court began to wear long hanging sleeves."

It is necessary to add something like a biography of Cardinal Morton. He has been almost squeezed out of history, though few men ever made more history than he did. Rapin and Hume, after giving him such space in the narrative as the one could afford, the other could not avoid, finish by instancing the promotion of a lawyer and negotiator such as he to the highest posts in the realm, as one proof of a degenerate and uninteresting age. Shakespeare does his duty to historical truth by putting into the mouth of Richard the language of deep misgiving when he hears that Morton had gone off to join Richmond; but though the dramatist's intention in the scene at the Council Room in the Tower might be only to exhibit Richard's insolent manners and low cunning, he certainly shows the Bishop of Ely receiving an impertinence, yet knowing how to receive it. Even this very slight vestige of a once great name has now disappeared from the metropolitan theatres. Fifty years ago the walking gentleman who performed the insulted prelate, in leaving the Council Room acted his part with so little dignity that the mirth of the audience was roused, and the play itself condemned. On the revival of the play this very year it has been thought safest to omit the incident, for fear of a like result, and Morton, the maker of Richmond, and the destroyer of Richard, makes no appearance.

It has suggested itself to ask whether it be wise, or called for, or in harmony with the mysterious behests of a Higher Power, to attempt to revive a name seemingly doomed to be forgotten, and that not without reasons that may present themselves. Was John Morton a great and good man? Was he a true Christian, and a man that Englishmen may justly be proud of? The question admits of several answers. "There is none good but One." The most splendid talents and the most heroic virtues have often been fruitless of tangible results; much good work for God and man has often been done by the less exalted, seemingly less consistent characters. What Morton was will come out, it is hoped, in the narrative. But the answer which the writer ventures to give to his own misgivings is that having unexpectedly, and as it happened in the course of some inquiries necessitated by a village improvement, found himself in charge of the only extant likeness of the greatest man of a critical and long-gone-by age, he could not but feel a call of Providence, to give others the benefit of his discovery. As he has little time or opportunity for consulting original authorities, he has largely availed himself of that very noble work, Dr. Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury." The account of Morton in Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors" is a just and interesting testimony to the great services and high qualities of the man, but it is necessarily limited to the proportions of the work. Dr. Hook's account is at much greater length. It is an example of patient industry, of honest zeal, of just and carefully guarded appreciation, that makes one regret what it is evident the author deeply regretted himself, that the plan of his work did not allow of a much larger and fuller history of Morton and his times. The materials for it are more copious than

might be supposed, and there is no other biography that could in even an approximate degree form a living centre and a thread of continuity for the proper illustration of the Wars of the Roses. The work has yet to be done, and with it some light has to be thrown upon problems that have hitherto received but cursory treatment and summary disposal. The writer is not without hope that this visible presentation of the marked features of the man, combining the characteristics of intellectual power, practical vigour, and generous zeal, thus thoroughly agreeing with all that is known about him, will raise some historian worthy of the theme, who will show that the fifteenth century had its full and honourable share, even though a peculiar share, in the growth and formation of our political and social fabric.

If it were at all likely that either Dr. Hook's work or Lord Campbell's would be in most instances within reach of the reader of the following sketch, it would be sufficient to do little more than refer to them, and add a few dates and other particulars. But it is to be feared that neither of them is as well known as it deserves to be, or is often likely to be at hand when these pictures suggest a question as to the personages represented. Rapin does as much justice to Morton as his limits allow; but the still narrower limits to which Hume had to restrict his narrative of the period, not to speak of his usual tendency to throw "churchmen" into the background, reduce Morton almost to insignificance. It is felt, therefore, to be necessary to go more at length into the history, and, for that purpose, to make a very free use of Dr. Hook's Life of Morton.

John Morton was born probably in the year 1420, at Milborne St. Andrew, near Bere Regis, or at the family seat in Bere Regis itself, in the county of Dorset, two years before the death of Henry V. at Vincennes. His family, which had migrated from Nottinghamshire, had acquired a good standing in its adopted county. From the Benedictine Abbey at Cerne, in Dorset, where he received his early education, he went to Balliol College, Oxford, and after a long course of study in civil and canon law, took his degree as LL.D. In 1446, that is, at the early age of six-and-twenty, he was one of the Commissioners, or Vice-Chancellors of the University, and was Moderator in the Civil Law School. Throughout his long life he retained his connection with the university to their great mutual benefit. In due time he went to London, where his practice in the Court of Arches brought him under the notice of Archbishop Bourchier, through whose influence he was appointed a Privy Councillor and made Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall under the young Prince Edward. He was made at the same time Clerk or Master in Chancery. In 1453 he was appointed Principal of Peckwater Inn, then frequented by law students, now merged in Christ Church. About that time he became the incumbent of Blokesworth, a few miles from Blandford, and connected, it is supposed, with his family estate. Blokesworth is but a small village, and Morton can only have visited it occasionally, for he had to divide his time very much between Oxford and London, in his practice at the Courts of Law and his attendance in the Council. But for some reason or other, perhaps in pleasantry, he became commonly known as the Parson of Blokesworth, though he held other preferments, such as the sub-deanery of Lincoln, to which he was

appointed in 1450. In times when there was little money and many ecclesiastical offices, it is possible that the clerical lawyer might sometimes have to take a sinecure instead of a fee. Morton became eventually a considerable pluralist, but all his occupation now was with law and politics, under a feeble master and in a failing cause. He was in attendance on the king at the long-contested and sanguinary battle of Towton, in 1461, and at one part of the day had to fight for his life. He escaped to the north, whence, with the queen and the prince, he sailed to Flanders, and never returned but to the battle of Barnet, ten years afterwards.

"John Morton, *late* parson of Blokesworth, in the shire of Dorset, clerk," was attainted, convicted of high treason, and condemned to lose all his possessions. He is next heard of as being in attendance on Queen Margaret at Bruges, in Flanders, where she and a numerous suite had been kindly received and assisted by the Count de Charlerois and the Duke of Burgundy, her court being lodged in the monastery of the Carmelites. She then joined her father. Again, in 1463, Morton was in attendance on her and the prince at Louvain, where the Lancastrian refugees gathered about her in numbers beyond her means of relief. For several years their cause became more and more hopeless. Edward's marriage led to a reaction. If not so much below his rank as has been represented, both the alliance itself and the disposition of the Woodvilles and their friends to push themselves forwards, gave mortal offence to the powerful Earl of Warwick, who entered into correspondence with Queen Margaret, and succeeded in effecting a reconciliation. Morton, with other members of the Queen's household was attached to Warwick's suite when he left Angers, and landed at Dartmouth in

September, 1470. Warwick was soon in command of a great army and in possession of the metropolis. Henry was paraded once more as king, and Edward, in his turn, was an exile. One thing, however, was wanting which neither soldier nor statesman could supply. This was an object of loyal devotion. The King was little better than an imbecile; the young Prince was a mere boy; Warwick, who was now to govern in the King's name, had a host of rivals and personal enemies; and the Queen, besides being a foreigner, was not even yet on English soil. There was a fatal delay, aggravated by a stormy March. Edward saw his opportunity, returned, collected a force,—an easy matter, it has been observed, when every man was a soldier,—and before Warwick knew of his landing, was offering battle in the midland counties. At Coventry, Clarence deserted from Warwick, and joined Edward, who was quickly in London,—Henry once more in the Tower. On April 14, 1471, Warwick was overthrown and slain at Barnet. Morton hastened to Weymouth, where the Queen and the Prince were expected, found them just landed after a tempestuous passage, and took them to Cerne Abbey, where he had spent his own school days. For better security, and to meet others of their party, he took them thence to Beaulieu, a sanctuary as much reputed as Westminster. The Queen's friends there resolved to make one more effort. Desponding and protesting, she was taken to Tewkesbury, where all was lost,—her cause and her son, to be followed shortly after by her husband.

There was now nothing to contend for; Margaret had not an object in this country except to obtain her own liberty on the payment of a ransom, and she had no alternative but to permit her adherents to make terms with Edward. This they did. On Dr. Morton's petition his attainder was

reversed; he returned to his public duties, which were now in the service of Edward, and, to quote Dr. Hook's words, "By his business habits and his engaging manners he soon "obtained the confidence of his sovereign. Edward felt "that he who had, by suffering, proved his loyalty to Henry "while he lived would be a loyal subject to himself; and "from that time honours were heaped upon Morton." His first step was the Rectory of St. Dunstan's in the East, near the Tower; but there was soon hardly a diocese or a cathedral in which he had not some office, though evidently in many instances only a title or a sinecure. The number is so great and the localities so distributed as to suggest ecclesiastical usages very different from those of our time, for, not to speak of numerous prebendal stalls, Morton could hardly have held five archdeaconries at once, as that office is now held. It is to be remembered that every branch of administration, whether in Church or in State, had fallen into disorder, and the most effectual, if not the only, means of reform, was to put every place of trust into the best possible hands, even if the work was then to be done by deputy. A similar process was then going on all over the country in the extensive acquisition of patronage by the better class of monasteries, for the double purpose of replacing with educated men the lax and ignorant clergy, whether regular or secular, then increasing especially in the rural districts, and, not less, of rebuilding the churches then falling to decay.

Pluralism had been more or less the custom of the Church now for centuries. The great officers of the State, mostly ecclesiastics, while charged with numerous establishments, expensive social duties, and large works in progress, had no fixed or regular incomes, and generally served a monarch as needy as themselves. The greater

part of the rents and tithes nominally due to them had to be spent in the localities, leaving them but a scanty balance for their private or public use.

Morton was made Master of the Rolls in 1472, a year after the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury. The patent was renewed in 1475, apparently in order to permit him to reside in any part of London he pleased, the former patent having bound him to the official residence. To quote again from Dr. Hook, "His office was no sinecure, "for the public documents had evidently fallen into "confusion during the civil wars. The historian can obtain "little or no assistance during this period from any existing "records of the Privy Council; but if the reader will take "the trouble to consult the rolls of parliament, he will "there see how diligently Dr. Morton laboured to bring "them into anything like regularity and form. His labours "in this department were publicly acknowledged; and as "they did not of necessity belong to his office as Master "of the Rolls, they may be mentioned as a proof of his "love of business. The irregularities of the time were "increased by the determination of King Edward to keep "things in his own hand." The king, who had to be always in motion, and to be sometimes in France, would have the seal at hand. This involved two chancellors, and from one of the Paston Letters it appears that in 1473, the year after Dr. Morton's appointment to the Rolls, he accompanied the king, carrying the seals with him.

In 1474 Morton was sent on an embassy to the emperor and the King of Hungary to concert a league with them against Lewis XI., whose disaffected vassals had invited Edward to assert his claim to the throne of France. During this year the king was occupied in raising money for the intended war, and as the plan of benevolences, with which

Morton's name has always been associated, now first appears, it has been surmised that it was he who put King Edward on that engine of finance, then so necessary, afterwards found so intolerable. After sending to Lewis a formal demand for the crown of France, written in such an elegant style, and in such polite language that De Commines could scarcely believe an Englishman wrote it, Edward crossed to Calais to wait for an answer, with Morton attached to his household. What followed is very unaccountable to all modern ideas. By the time King Edward, the ablest of generals, and the bravest of soldiers, had got a considerable army in position, and in fighting order, he was the first to communicate to Lewis that the Duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law and expected ally, having failed to make an appearance, he was not himself in a condition, single-handed, to attempt the reconquest of France; but that it was plainly impossible he could sail back to England without doing something for all the cost and and trouble he had been at. He must therefore besiege and capture some towns, unless Lewis would give him an equivalent in money. The French king conferred with his nobles, and represented to them that Edward would be as good as his word, and would probably get into some of their cities, in which case it would be a long time before they got the English out again. The nobles saw this, and agreed to buy Edward off with a very large sum, and make with him a treaty of peace to last for seven years. The French were to give Edward 75,000 crowns in hand; 50,000 annually; and to distribute 16,000 crowns among Edward's councillors, and the officers of his household, at once, and year by year. They had been at charges and expected to be repaid. Morton was one of the negotiators of this treaty, and with the king's other ministers, ecclesiastics, and

lawyers, he received his share of the spoil. The English seemed to come off with all the honours. Besides the other payments, Lewis was to give a ransom of 50,000*l.* for Queen Margaret who was to be sent back to France; his son was to marry Elizabeth of York at the proper time; and the money paid to Edward was to be expressly described as a tribute due from France to England. With characteristic cynicism Lewis replied to the remonstrance of his rather indignant nobles that words did not matter so as they got the English away. His own belief, the belief of the age, and eventually of Edward too, was that he had overreached Edward, who had a passion for war and conquest, and who now found himself bound to be quiet for the rest of his days. Before long the English king had the additional mortification of hearing that Lewis had found a more eligible bride for his son. As to the payments made to his ministers and household, Edward's comment was that he could do nothing without his council, and they must have money as well as he. Whatever the means, the result was peace, or, to speak more accurately, no actual hostilities between the two countries for a whole generation, after two generations of sanguinary and desolating war justly credited with evil consequences far beyond the limits of Europe itself.

On this remarkable occasion Morton appears associated with Lord Hastings, whose son now held by his marriage the manor of Plymtree. By the terms of the arrangement each of them was to receive 2,000 crowns a year from Lewis XI. When the servants of the French king came to Hastings with the money, in gold, and asked for a receipt, he exclaimed, "I'll give you no receipt. I'm not going to appear in your public accounts as a pensioner of France; put the money down here," opening his sleeve for

the purpose. It is added that he was the only one who was paid without irregularity or delay. That he would have immediate occasion for the money appears from the list of persons of quality serving under him on this occasion, viz., two lords, nine knights, fifty-eight squires, and twenty gentlemen.

Three years after, in August 1478, Morton was nominated Bishop of Ely. "The temporalities were restored," and Morton consecrated in the ensuing January. He was installed at Ely with much ceremony and extraordinary magnificence in August. There happens to survive a minute description of the installation, in all its stages, too long for insertion here. If Morton was eager in raising money, Dr. Hook observes, he was not niggardly in his expenditure; and to account for some particular observances of an apparently exceptional character, he adds that Morton was evidently a man of earnest piety, though the form of it assumed, in many respects, what we should now regard as superstition. When he looked back to his past history, and contemplated his present elevation, he was oppressed by a deep sense of humility which it was the manner of the age to express, and would have been hypocrisy to conceal. The only incidents to be noted here are those which seem to illustrate the pictures, to which this notice is prefixed. On the morning of the installation, after a night spent in prayer and fasting, he walked from Downham to Ely, his head uncovered, and not only without sandals, but even barelegged, that is, without hose. His beads were in his hands, and he devoutly uttered his Pater-nosters. He rested at St. Mary's church, taking his seat in the chancel, and making an offering of five shillings. Wherever on this occasion, he made an offering, the sum of

five shillings is mentioned. The parochial clergy here approached the new bishop, and evinced their humility by washing his feet, soiled by his walk. From this time and to the end of the reign, Morton appears to have devoted himself to his religious duties, having now given up, in favor of his nephew Robert, the Mastership of the Rolls. He was already one of the commissioners for the payment of the king's debts out of the proceeds of his private estate; and he had also a certain position in the royal household as tutor of the Prince of Wales, for whose character and future the king, careless as he was for his own, felt a painful anxiety.

Morton had now for his town residence the manor of the Bishops of Ely, in Holborn, a magnificent palace, with twenty acres of pastures, vineyards, orchards, courts, and gardens. Whatever he took in hand he did with all his might; he introduced new fruits and flowers, he gathered about him promising youths, and men of learning from this and other countries; he directed studies; he wrote a good deal, though it has reached us through other names; he renewed his connection with Oxford, interrupted by his long exile, He administered with diligence and reforming zeal the affairs of a large diocese; he attended to his court duties. In those days, not only theology, but literature, science, and art were impossible except in the asylum afforded by a monastic house, or by the patronage of some high ecclesiastic. The Bishop of Ely's court at Holborn was the centre of a new civilization. It was at once numerous, select, and magnificent. Of all that splendour only a fragment, but a glorious fragment, survives. Ely Chapel, in Ely Place, was, and even in its present dilapidated state is, one of the finest examples of what is called the Decorated style. After being used for many years by the Welsh members

of the Church of England, it has latterly passed, by the easy process of a public sale, into the hands of the Roman Catholics, who are now restoring it as well as their funds will allow. London has few antiquities, but were there many more, Ely Chapel would still hold its own for the beauty of its design and the dignity of its proportions, and not less for its historical associations. Of this period, however, there are monuments more permanent and inalienable. The year 1480 saw the introduction of the Greek language; and, with it, the revival of learning, especially at the Universities. Three years earlier Caxton had printed his first book at Westminster, having for some years enjoyed the patronage of Edward IV.'s sister at Bruges.

In 1483, when Morton had been Bishop of Ely four years, and had become sincerely attached to a sovereign whose generous and agreeable qualities won all about him, he had to attend his deathbed, to hear his final additions to his will, and to receive his last instructions for the care of his children. The dying king felt deeply the blood he had shed for the sake of a throne, and the little use he had made of his great opportunity. To quote the writer before us: "When the Bishop of Ely returned to "his lovely walks in the garden at Holborn, he expressed "his conviction that a wand more powerful than that of "Moses had stricken the stony heart of King Edward, from "which flowed the deep waters of repentance, stream-"ing from his eyes." Upon Morton chiefly devolved the arrangements for the funeral. That ceremony was but the prelude of the most anxious and most terrible crisis England has ever known. The civil war was once more to break out and spend its fury in one decisive conflict, before the dynasty or the constitution could be settled. Morton was left one of the executors of Edward's will. The king's

time had been so short, he had so misemployed it, and his end had come so unexpectedly, that he had not thoroughly set his house in order. He had, in effect, left his crown and his children to be plotted and fought for. Morton refused to act as executor; he had not the requisite powers. While the queen had the immediate charge of the royal children, the Duke of Gloucester was at once admitted to be Regent and Protector, and thus to wield the actual power and forces of the realm. It was only a few months before this that he had marched with 10,000 men to Edinburgh, to liberate James III. from the durance in which he had been placed by his barons, and to enforce some neglected obligations. Half that army was now in London, and under his command. He had London on his side, in those days no slight matter; he had Parliament; he had also, it seems, the good wishes of all who were anxious for peace and quiet at any price; he was an able and popular man, who might be depended on to hold his own, and to give England another lease of prosperity. There had come up a general horror of weak governments. The revolution that brought in Henry IV. began with the watchword that England wanted a man.

It was at once very clear that whoever had the charge of the Prince of Wales and the royal children would have to fight hard for them, and this recalled the sad time of Margaret and her Prince of Wales. Edward's will—the most important part of it,—made some years before his death—was impossible of execution; the powers conferred by it encroaching one on the other. The queen could not secure the exercise of her powers without trying for more, and it is no wonder that she did try for more, and find others doing the same. There was, immediately, a queen's party, and also another party, indeed more than one party,

resolved, whether from patriotic or from personal motives, to prevent the queen's party from obtaining the power and government of the country. Buckingham, Stanley, Howard, and Hastings, combined to make the Duke of Gloucester, not Regent, but President of a Council of Regency. The peril of such a design is obvious. Perhaps these men saw it clearly enough, but thought they could safely run the risk; perhaps they had, each of them, schemes of their own. Stanley and Hastings were resolved, and only declared too loudly, that they would not let Richard have the upper hand. They were not queen's men, they said, but only for the young king. Through these ill-managed intrigues intended for the curtailment of his Regency in favour of the queen on the one hand, and of the young king on the other, Richard saw his way to the crown. All he had to do was to get himself acclaimed king, ostensibly as the only way of saving the State and averting the horrors of another civil war. Through the very men who were plotting against him he managed to obtain the presence of an imposing military force, as if for the suppression of the queen's party.

"Such was the state of affairs," says Dr. Hook, "when "Richard was prepared for a *coup d'état* not very different "in character from those sudden revolutions with which we "have become familiarized in modern French history. The "destruction of Hastings, though the personal friend of "Richard, was decided upon. As regards Morton, he had, "during some years, led a comparatively private life, and, "although he attended the Privy Council, had not made "himself obnoxious. He lived at his house in Holborn, and "was on friendly terms with the Protector; but one "thing was quite certain—that he would not sanction "any measures in the Council which might tend to

"the injury of his royal pupil, the son of his benefactor, "friend, and king. Therefore he, with some other mem- "bers of the Council under the influence of similar "feelings, must be got out of the way.

"What is called 'the Strawberry Scene' in Shakespeare "is so well known, that an author naturally shrinks from "reporting a tale so inimitably told. We have the story "indeed from the highest authority—from Morton himself, "who narrated it to Sir Thomas More, if he did not "himself pen the narrative." It should be premised that the friends of the queen and of the young princes had pressed upon the Duke of Gloucester the immediate assemblage of the Council in order to the earliest possible coronation of Edward V., and that he had found he could put it off no longer.

"On Friday, the 13th of June, 1483 (this was only "two months after Edward's death), the Bishop of Ely "having attended the service at his chapel, had taken "his usual stroll through his garden in Holborn, and then "repaired to the Council Chamber in the Tower, expecting "to transact the ordinary routine of business. Men rose "early in those days, and the Councillors were surprised to "hear the clock strike nine before their chairman, the "Protector, had arrived. When he appeared and took "his seat at the table, he was apparently in high good "humour, and in the best possible spirits. He apologized "for keeping the Council waiting, and hoped the Lords "would pardon him for having played the sluggard. He "was a thorough politician, and nobody could read in his "countenance what was passing in his mind; not a word "or a gesture of uneasiness escaped him. He began to "jest with the Bishop of Ely about his garden and his bed "of strawberries, of which the Bishop was not a little proud.

"My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
"I saw good strawberries in your garden there,
"I do beseech you send for some of them." [1]

"My Lord Bishop, not a little pleased at the compliment "paid to his skill in horticulture, immediately despatched "a servant for the fruit; and the Protector soon after "requested permission to retire, but begged the Lords "during his absence to continue their deliberations.

"In about an hour he returned. He took his place "at the head of the Council board. All were silent. "Something had evidently occurred, and something of an "unpleasant nature. The Councillors looked for an ex- "planation to their President. He sat with his brows knit, "biting his lips, and endeavouring by his countenance to "show that his utmost soul was convulsed by passion. He "suddenly started up. He demanded what punishment "was due to those who had compassed the death of one "like himself, closely allied to the king, and entrusted "with the functions of government. The lords were con- "founded by the manner rather than by the words of this "address. Hastings was the first to speak: 'Surely, my "lord, whoever they be, they deserve to be punished as "traitors.' 'Those traitors are,' exclaimed Richard, 'my "brother's wife and his mistress, Jane Shore; see how by "their sorcery and witchcraft they have miserably destroyed "my body.' And therewith, writes Sir Thomas More, on "the authority, if not at the dictation, of Morton, he "plucked up his doublet sleeve to the elbow, upon his "left arm, where he showed a werish, withered arm, and "small. 'Certainly, my lord,' replied Hastings, 'if they "have indeed done any such thing they deserve to be "both severely punished.' 'And do you answer me,'

[1] *King Richard III.*, Act iii. Scene 4.

"rejoined the Protector in a voice of thunder, 'with *ifs* "and *ands?* I tell thee, traitor, they have done it, and "thou in this villainy hast joined with them. Yea, by "Holy Paul I swear, that dine I will not until thy head "be brought to me.' With his clenched hand he struck "the table; and, responsive to the signal, ere the Coun- "cillors could look up, the guard had rushed into the room "with shouts of 'Treason, Treason!' All was in confusion. "No one knew whether or not his neighbour's dagger "would be at his throat. Seats and tables were overturned. "One man was seen falling over another, as all were "rushing towards the guarded doors and windows. Lord "Stanley in the *mêlée* received a blow from a pole-axe, "and the blood was streaming down his ears. Meantime "Hastings had been hurried off to execution. The "Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and certain other "lords, were told that they were prisoners.

"The imprisonment of Morton caused a sensation, not "so much among politicians as among men of literature "and learning. The University of Oxford presented a "petition in his behalf, written, says Anthony à Wood, in "Latin, no less eloquent and fitting than circumspect "and wary. It commended the Reverend Father in "Christ, the Lord Bishop of Ely, to the clemency of "the most Christian King, Richard III., as being not only "one of the most eminent sons of the University, but also "a liberal patron, and as one who had been to them all "an indulgent father. . . . . The bowels of the Uni- "versity were moved in pity at the lamentable distress "of her dearest son; she was even as Rachel weeping "for her children, and therefore prayed the King to perform "an act of clemency which would be acceptable to the whole "Church, and redound to his own honour."

Richard had always professed his readiness to serve the University, and, when this petition was presented, had been particularly gratified by the reception which the University gave him when he visited Oxford after his coronation. That ceremony had taken place on July 6, only three weeks after the scene in the Tower. He, therefore acceded to the prayer of the petition so far as to remove Morton from the Tower, and to consign him to the custody of the Duke of Buckingham, at Brecknock in Wales.

By the time Morton found himself the prisoner and the guest of the Duke of Buckingham, Edward V. and his brother had disappeared. Nobody doubted the author of the crime. Though Richard had too many precedents for it, and had unhappily also imitators, yet he had miscalculated the national sentiment. The truth was England had never known anything so bad as this. His popularity went in a day; there was a fierce reaction. The mother of the murdered princes had now revenge added to all other motives. It is believed that Morton, before his arrival at Brecknock, had already found an opportunity of suggesting to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the marriage of her son Henry to Elizabeth of York, and it is certain that the Countess had managed to get an apparently casual meeting with Buckingham, and had urged him to forward that design. But never was there a situation of greater opportunity, greater difficulty, or greater danger, than that which Morton now found himself in. He had the making or the unmaking of everything in his hands, did he know how to do it. He could not help being exceedingly agreeable to his gaoler; but he had then to sound a man who was not the less on his guard, in that he no longer felt loyalty or friendship to Richard whom he had most contributed to place on the throne. Buckingham had lost honour in doing this.

He had notoriously done it in the expectation of a reward, withheld when the service was done. Richard had probably sent him to Wales to be rid of an importunity, which, if not formidable, was troublesome. It is even said that Buckingham was privy to the murder of the princes, and now found that he had sold himself only to be despised by Richard and hated by the people whom he had cajoled and deceived. But the vanity and folly of the man, and his present state of disaffection, did not make him the less dangerous, for there was no accounting for him, and Morton was absolutely in his power.

What follows reads more like the marvels of a nursery tale than a passage in real history. Morton allowed himself to be sounded first, and let the Duke have the lead through the whole negotiation. It was the Duke who seemed to draw from him successively that he was a Lancastrian at heart, that yet he could not but feel love and loyalty to Edward's memory, that he owed duty to Richard, but—for this it came to at last,—"If the Turk stood in com-"petition with this bloody tyrant, this killer of infants, "the people of England would prefer him to Richard who "now sits on this throne." Morton affected to forget for the moment who was the surviving head of the house of Lancaster, and suggested that if Buckingham was the head he ought to put forward either himself, or, if he did not wish that, somebody else. The Duke was sufficiently familiar with the whole question of descent and title, but the one thought in his head had ever been to get the half of the Hereford estates to which he believed himself entitled, and to that object his ambition had all but bound itself. However, he and his prisoner quickly came to an understanding as to what was to be done in the first instance. At a hint from Morton, he suggested communication with the Countess of

Richmond, and the Bishop was ready for it. Reginald Bray, high in the service and confidence of that lady, and her husband, Lord Stanley, was within call, and was summoned. A few messages to and fro were enough. The Countess and the leading Lancastrians were only too glad to fall in with the plan, and preparations were set on foot. Morton himself was the channel of communication with the South-Western counties, where the rising at once began.

A plot so wide-spread, and shared by such a variety of personages, soon betrayed its existence to Richard, who had abundant reason to suspect Buckingham, knowing his power and his recent grudge, and he accordingly summoned him to court, from which Buckingham begged to be excused. Richard thereupon regarded him as an open foe, and prepared to march against him, while Buckingham lost no time in collecting the raw levies that Richard had such contempt for when he heard of them. Meanwhile, Morton, who had accompanied several armies and been present at two great battles, had seen how much depended on the commander. He knew enough of Buckingham to be sure that neither victory nor honour would be where he was ; and he saw moreover that a good deal more had to be done besides a rising in the West. He suggested to Buckingham that he could do good service to the cause in the Eastern counties, where his chief influence now lay, and asked leave to go to his diocese. "Once I find myself at Ely," he told the Duke, "with four days' start of Richard, I am ready to defy all his malice." Buckingham did not like to part with so good an adviser. Morton fled in disguise. With the utmost rapidity and secrecy he traversed England from Brecknock to his own cathedral city; a hundred and seventy miles. An Oxford man, with many friends, holding many preferments, and engaged in

many affairs, no doubt he knew every green lane, and every track in the Midland counties. Even to the beginning of the present century, it was possible to find good riding turf, in green lanes, or on commons, or by the road side, for a hundred miles in every direction from Oxford. Still later the Welsh drovers brought their cattle to London by a circuitous route through Northamptonshire to save the feet of the poor beasts, and to give them grazing by the way, not to speak of avoiding the turnpikes. Morton would get from Wales to the east coast easily and pleasantly in two or three days, without the slightest danger of being overtaken or of coming across a foe. At Ely, and down to the sea, he had in hand immense works, for which, with proper authority from Edward IV., he had raised contributions, and impressed large bodies of men. He immediately collected the money and the men, and put them on board several ships at Wisbeach. The first news Richard had of his escape from Brecknock was that he was in Flanders, in communication with the Earl of Richmond, and Shakespeare makes him exclaim when he heard it—

> "Ely with Richmond troubles me more near
> Than Buckingham with his rash-levied strength."

The Earl of Richmond had then been for fifteen years in the charge of the Duke of Brittany. Flying from the bloody field of Tewkesbury, at the age of thirteen, he and his friends were cast by a storm on the coast of Brittany, where the Duke shut him up in the castle of Elven, a few miles from Vannes, in the modern Department of Morbihan. There he remained a close prisoner for twelve years during the reign of Edward; after his death more at large, but still in detention. The Duke and his minister, a man of low origin, were looking for some advantage to themselves by the possession of a

youth very early recognised by Henry VI. himself, and others, as likely to come one day to the throne. Edward had promised the Duke of Brittany the Richmond estates, if he would take care young Henry should never dispute possession, but when Edward died the Duke saw that his interest lay rather in treating Richmond as a friend. He was soon taken into the scheme for the union of the houses by the marriage of Henry and Elizabeth, and, with his concurrence, in the presence of a numerous body of Lancastrians, Henry publicly bound himself by oath in the Cathedral of Rennes, to marry Elizabeth if he should become king. The Duke contributed to raise a force for this purpose, and no time was lost in sending it across the Channel. But Buckingham's army had been arrested by an extraordinary inundation of the Severn; the forces collected in the South-Western counties, not being able to effect a junction, had fallen back and dispersed, and when Richmond arrived off the coast it was only his very great caution that saved him, for the troops he saw strongly mustered and inviting him to land were the militia called out by Richard for his apprehension. By the betrayal and execution of Buckingham, he had lost a weak ally, perhaps a dangerous subject, and a treacherous friend.

Thus far Morton met with nothing but failure, but he saw that Richard was becoming every day more odious, and Richmond more popular. There ensued a year of negotiations, conspiracies, and treacheries, Richard sending embassies, overtures, and promises to every person or power at home or abroad that could be of the least use to him, and Morton in continual communication with Lancastrians, neutral, and wavering, in England and on the continent, including officers of Richard's own household. Going to

Paris in quest of friends, Morton found Richard Fox studying law at the University, recognized his great abilities, and engaged him in Richmond's cause. Richard felt that everybody was against him, and in order to find out who were the movers, or the chief agents of a universal conspiracy, he had to bethink himself who were the persons likely to move or to act in any cause, as being more ambitious, or high spirited, or active than others. By this rule he hit on the right persons; but Richmond was the central object of his fears. He addressed himself accordingly to the Duke of Brittany's minister, represented to him that the rising in Richmond's behalf had failed at every point, that the cause was hopeless, that the Duke had something to answer for in having assisted him, and that if the Duke would deliver up Richmond into his hands, he would reward him and his minister handsomely. Upon the promise of a large sum, the minister and his master agreed to give up Richmond, but just as they were about to send him off a prisoner to England, Morton, through his informants in the king's privy council, had been able to warn him of his danger, and to recommend instant flight into the territory of the French king, who had promised to receive him in such a case. Richmond was then at Vannes, and had with him Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, and other friends of the late king, who had joined the Lancastrian cause on the condition of Richard marrying Elizabeth of York. With a few attendants he fled by fields and bye-ways to Angers in the territory of the French king, from whom he sought not only protection but aid.

Richard now saw that the eyes of the nation were fixed on Elizabeth, all this time in the Sanctuary of Westminster, and that he would have no peace on the throne

unless he could manage to make her his queen. There were serious difficulties in the way. Besides that the lady was his own niece, he had a wife living, and a son, Prince of Wales, and heir to his father's throne. But first died the prince, then followed the mother, in a cloud of mystery, though there comes out only one certainty, that Richard had had no love for his queen, and had wished her out of the way. Through the weakness of Edward's widow, he was very near accomplishing his projected union with his niece, and the Lancastrians in their momentary despair were very near committing themselves and Richmond to another matrimonial scheme. It was happily averted by what seemed at the time a great mischance; indeed it was Richard himself, who, to his own hurt, prevented it. The Duke of Brittany, now finding that he had lost the means of making terms with Richard, gave all Richmond's friends leave to follow their master, who soon had a large surrounding at the French court. The French king, at first indifferent and hostile, was made to take an interest in their cause, and offered, and eventually supplied, a hastily-collected force. By this time Richard had persuaded himself that Richmond could not soon repeat his attempt at invasion. Discharging accordingly the crews of the ships prepared against it, he had unrigged the ships, and laid them up in harbour. The Lancastrians instantly despatched messages to Richmond, saying, now or never. He sailed with what force he had, landed at Milford Haven, and, to avoid Buckingham's mischance, pushed on for Shrewsbury, where he could be sure of crossing the Severn. Though Richard's rapidity of movement and fertility of resource rose to the occasion, the whole country melted before the liberating army. The militia he had ordered up against it, the noblemen about his court, the country

gentlemen, and the people—the very class that Richard had tried all his arts to win—declared for Richmond on his approach, and it was only by holding Lord Stanley's son in his gripe, that he could defer that nobleman's desertion and his brother's, till victory hung in the balance on Bosworth field.

Probably there never was a reign that comprised in so short a period so many events, so many crimes, so many singular episodes and extraordinary enterprizes; so many negotiations and conspiracies; so many political acts marked with the character of a former age, but full of bearings on the future. Richard lived long in a short time. His activity was not confined to this country—here, indeed, he was everywhere—it extended to all the neighbouring countries by his agents and correspondence. It may be mentioned by the way that in the year before his usurpation Richard had organized relays of mounted messengers that carried news of his Scotch expedition from Edinburgh to London in four days. The vastness of his designs, the promptness of their execution, and the rapidity with which they succeeded one another, suggest that we have not gained so much as we are apt to think by steam on sea and land, by the post, and by the electric wire. Had Richard possessed all these instruments he could hardly have done more, nor, it must be added, could he have been better matched had his foes possessed them. The whole story shows that there was at that time quicker and more continuous communication to and fro in England, and on the Continent, as well as greater energy in the conduct of public affairs, than we usually give that age credit for. But though in the Wars of the Roses human action seemed to be preternaturally quickened and exasperated, Divine retribution did

not lag long behind. Man would vainly fill the scene, but Heaven still showed itself. When Richard fell, the ground he stained with his blood had been the possession of that Hastings he had murdered in the Tower, and whom he would have attainted and robbed but for a voice within him that compelled such retribution as still lay in his power.

Henry of Richmond's various claims to the crown were elaborately stated at the time, and have been freely canvassed since, when they could have only an antiquarian interest. He was king by right of conquest, and crowned as such by Lord Stanley, till that moment the actual umpire between parties, on the battle-field. Henry himself, who had studied the question of his title as deeply and carefully as his foes, no more liked the right of conquest than he did the title imposed upon him as husband to the heiress of York. He wished to rely entirely on his Lancastrian pedigree, by which he hoped to be independent of wavering Yorkists and would-be king-makers—a dangerous and increasing class. His accession was hailed by the great majority of the people as the triumph of conciliation, as the best solution of the dynastic difficulty, as the intervention of Heaven in behalf of outraged humanity, and as the sure pledge of peace and prosperity. How far he fulfilled this golden promise it is needless here to inquire; but in the consideration of his failings, whatever they were, there are points which it is as well to remember. He was an only, and, indeed, a lonely child. That childhood was passed in the midst of the most sanguinary wars, the darkest intrigues, and the most atrocious crimes England has ever seen. "From five years old," Henry once said, "I have been a fugitive or a captive." From thirteen to twenty-eight, the period during which character is formed, he was a prisoner in an out-of-the-way

castle in gloomy and superstitious Brittany, in the hands of capricious and mercenary jailors, the object of continual intrigues, his property or his life always in danger. When he emerged at last into active life, it was to be surrounded by ruined men, fugitives, adventurers animated by revenge, self-preservation, or greed, meeting violence with cunning, or fraud with the strong hand, and only kept within hail of humanity and heaven by the strongest appeals to the religious sentiment, by extravagant beliefs, and superstitious scruples.

The most prominent of Henry VII.'s faults was covetousness, which, however, did not prevent him from leaving the most magnificent architectural ornament this metropolis can boast. It is a well-known and very true saying that "the chill of poverty never leaves the bones;" and it was a very severe form of this chill that Henry VII. and his friends had been suffering many years when he came to the throne. Nor can we forget that for this covetousness he had public reasons. There was at that time too much money in the land, and too little of it. There was too much for every other object, and too little for the State. As we imagine the wars of the Roses, we are apt to infer that life and property could then be hardly safe in any part of the isle; but the very year of the battle of Towton hundreds of churches and monastic buildings, in a new and costly style, were rising all over the southern counties. When Richmond came to the throne he found the land full of nobles ready to serve him with their armies, some by no means small, or to destroy him if that would suit their purpose better, but not to pay taxes. Henry VII. wanted not their services in the field, but their money. He did not want that they should have the means of gathering around them all the youth, all

the enterprise, all the genius of the land, either as soldiers, or as the appendages of enormous establishments, while he was destitute of the means himself. As for soldiers, he did not himself want an army always hanging upon him, but the power of raising one should it be required. In those days to be known to be rich was to be followed and to be feared. A king with a full exchequer could win friends at home, and dictate terms abroad. He could avert war by being able to make it. Though Richard's was from the first a falling cause, his extreme poverty contributed to his ruin. Without money a king could not be generous or merciful; and the records of Henry's expenditure contain many instances of mercy and of well-timed generosity. Morton saw the necessity, and met it in the modes common in those days, the only modes available. If the passion grew on the king, and he condescended to the use of inferior agents, it was after Morton's time.

Morton himself saw both the increasing necessity for money, and the king's increasing greed, and he very chivalrously allowed himself and his friend Sir Reginald Bray to be the king's "screens," as Bacon calls them, in the matter. When the Cornish men, always revolting on any pretence, marched to London, they began with demanding the heads of Morton and Bray, but seem to have forgotten them when they reached Blackheath. Bacon says that after Morton's death it became evident that he had kept the king within bounds, and that he had put himself to the front, and used language strong even to harshness in order to turn upon himself Henry's growing unpopularity.

From Buckingham's unsuccessful rising to the battle of Bosworth, Morton had remained on the Continent, where he could serve Richmond better than by joining him in

Brittany. Not only was he more at home in Flanders, where, as we have seen above, he was on several occasions found in attendance on Queen Margaret, but there he could have continual communication with his friends in England. He received information, promises of support, and much-needed supplies of money, which he transmitted thence to Richmond. He now returned to England, his attainder was soon reversed, he became again Privy Councillor, and Henry's chief and most trusted adviser. Lord Bacon, in his essay on "Counsel," says that Henry, in his greatest business, imparted himself to none but Morton and Fox; but for ordinary matters Bray and Daubeny had also the deserved confidence of a king whose nature it was to trust but few, and whose misfortune it was to reign at a time when few could be trusted. In March, 1486, Morton was appointed Lord High Chancellor of England. In the same month the see of Canterbury became vacant, and Morton was put in possession of the temporalities. He received the crozier in great state in the chapel of Ely House, Holborn, in December, and next month was enthroned and received the pall. In November 1487 he crowned the Queen, more than a year after the birth of Prince Arthur. Henry had been crowned as soon as possible after his accession, and the programme, or "device" as it was called in those days, which assigned to the Bishop of Ely a prominent part in that ceremony, supposes the Queen to be crowned at the same time. But for one reason or another, the marriage itself was postponed till some weeks after.

From this to the year 1500, Morton was, under the king, the chief personage both in the Church and in the State, at once Primate and Premier—a position unknown in these times. The qualification "under the king" is no slight one.

Almost all historians, down to the late Dean of Chichester, represent Henry VII. as the master mind, and his advisers as his necessary and loyal assistants in the execution of his plans, helping him to a certain point, and saving him from going too far. Perhaps it is a truer account of the whole matter to say that Henry VII. and his ministers did little more than was the plain necessity of the case—the only way of dealing with existing circumstances. It has frequently happened that a man of great genius and a lofty spirit has had to submit all his life to perform a part the very contrary of his own ideal; as, for example, the Duke of Wellington, who was always longing for the opportunity of a brilliant campaign, ever on the attack, but who, for the more important part of his career, had to accept the defensive. Henry had no choice, and it only required common sense to see what he had to do, and the vigour, sagacity, and courage to carry it out. The country had to be reduced to order and security, after a long period of internecine war, and to effect this there was need of a policy stronger than arms.

England was then full of nobles in the enjoyment of immense revenues, and at the head of armies, either actually under arms, or only waiting a word to rise out of the ground. Not a few of these could boast royal blood. All had reversionary rights. All had claims which they were either prosecuting or keeping steadily in view. All had inexhaustible wants for themselves and their dependants, and all made it a point of honour not to take a denial. Though there had been two great political parties, the nobles were ever ready to make cross combinations when it suited their purposes. The condition of the Church was, if possible, worse. To meet the evil times, and taking advantage of them, the monastic orders had had recourse

to every means of influence and aggrandisement. A single monastery would obtain, by one means or another, all the livings of an extensive district, and by the purchase of the proper powers from the Pope, would make itself independent of kings and bishops at home. There were good intentions, and some good results, in this ambitious policy, but when the good had been done the evil generally prevailed. The State and the Church had been labouring for some time under similar maladies; for while the rival dynasties were contending for the soil of this country, popes were contending with one another for the spiritual allegiance of the world, or rapidly succeeding one another, each one generally worse than his predecessor. What was to be done, if only that a man might call his life and his property his own, and the worst of the crying scandals might be removed? The thing to be done, so it seemed to practical men, was to strengthen both the Crown and the Tiara.

Morton, who, living or dead, has been called double faced, double-tongued, and a good deal more for having served both Lancastrian and Yorkist kings with equal zeal and fidelity, has been described by the same writers as the tool of his king, and a mere pope's man. His belief was that as there is earth and heaven, so these are represented in the king and the pope, and that the one in temporal things, the other in spiritual, has the highest authority, and demands an implicit obedience. The Chancellor Archbishop opposed himself to every existing abuse, whether in the State or in the Church, armed with full powers from the king on the one hand, and from the pope on the other, for pruning the dangerous wealth and power of the landowners, and for enforcing on the monasteries the first duties of morality and the due observance of their own rules. So far from resisting, Henry connived at what

even then was held to be papal aggression; but the truth was he had no objection to see the Papal authority brought to bear upon the clergy, whether secular or regular; and he had also other work in hand—the collection of resources for the ever-impending civil war, that happily found vent in pitiful impostures and aimless insurrections.

The Archbishop had evidently no faith in spontaneous improvement. He issued peremptory orders for the reform of the clerical manners and dress down to the smallest matters; he injoined residence, then much neglected, and called on the bishops to be careful in the licensing of curates. His visitation of the notorious Abbey of St. Alban's, immediately followed by the acquisition of parliamentary powers for the general improvement of clerical discipline, was a stern and ominous precursor of the Great Reformation. Armed with these powers "the archbishop," says Dr. Hook, "commenced his visitation in great state, his "cross being carried before him erect wherever he went, and "being attended with a numerous suite. He visited the "dioceses of Lichfield and Coventry, Bath and Wells, Win-"chester, Lincoln, and Exeter, in 1490. He visited the "dioceses of Rochester, Worcester, and Salisbury twice. "On these occasions he exacted large sums of money from "the clergy; and in 1491 he was attended by commis-"sioners appointed by the king, at the head of whom was "Richard Fox, Bishop of Exeter. They attended to enforce "a benevolence for the king on the plea of the French war. "When delinquents appeared before the archbishop they "were ready enough to effect a compromise by granting a "benevolence." On the other hand, "the king gave the "archbishop a commission to impress stone-hewers for the "erection or repair of the archiepiscopal buildings in Kent, "Surrey, and Sussex, which the primate was conducting

"at his own expense." As a sample of the times, the Archbishop maintained in the Court of Arches, against the Bishop of London, with the usual incident of scandalous disturbances between their respective officials, the right of granting probate of wills, where the testator had property in more than one diocese.

In the earlier part of Morton's career he had been adviser of Henry VI., or rather of his queen, and he had no doubt shared the universal sentiment that the unhappy king was a saint out of place. Since he was nothing as a king, and could hardly be regarded as such except in name, the best solution was to regard him as a saint. With this feeling, and not less from a desire to add that title to the Lancastrian cause, the Archbishop petitioned the Court of Rome for the canonization of Henry VI.; and the suit went so far that a commission was issued to the Archbishop and the Bishop of Durham to investigate his claims. This was usually done by ascertaining, among other things, whether miracles had actually been done by the person for whom the claim was made. In a summary of the case intended to amuse, yet not at the cost of truth, Fuller states, among other particulars, that it was required that credible witnesses must attest the truth of real miracles wrought after death by the person to be canonized. From documents of the period there is no doubt that local worship was paid to "the murdered saint" in various parts of England, and that "Henry's holy shade" hovered over many other sites than his tomb and his college. In the Salisbury Primer, Ed. 1502, is a Latin *Suffragium*, or short service, for obtaining the intercession of Henry VI., for deliverance from murder, pestilence, fever, various kinds of sudden death, and from all enemies. On the other hand all the kings of England

claimed to have derived a certain sanctity and healing power from Edward the Confessor. The legend was that some persons coming from Jerusalem brought to King Edward a ring which he recognised as having once been his own, and which he had given, when nobody was by, to a poor person, who had asked alms of him for the love he bore to St. John the Evangelist. The ring was long preserved in Westminster Abbey, and was believed to have efficacy against croup and falling sickness. In the year 1199, our King John, and William, King of Scots, being together at York, the latter asserted his sanctity, as direct descendant of Edward the Confessor, by the performance of a miraculous cure, to which the former, less believing, had found himself unequal. As another sign of the divinity that hedgeth round the king, our sovereigns used with much ceremony, on Good Friday, to bless rings, the wearers of which were to be secured from the "falling sickness." Henry VI.'s own belief in the miracles wrought by saints at their shrines forms the subject of a scene in Shakespeare. The suit for canonization was not carried to any result. Lord Bacon says, "Knowing that King "Henry VI. was reputed in the world abroad but for a "simple man, the Pope was afraid it would but diminish "that kind of honour if there were not a distance kept "between Innocents and Saints." It ended by a compromise. The body of Henry VI. was translated from Windsor to Westminster, and Morton was allowed to gain his suit for the canonization of his predecessor, Archbishop Anselm, an event which was soon followed by his own admission to the sacred College. In the year 1493, Archbishop Morton received the Cardinal's hat, with the title of St. Anastasia.

To be chancellor of England, primate and cardinal, at

the head of the law, the church, the legislature, the diplomacy, and, as it appears, the entire civil and religious administration of the kingdom, its whole foreign as well as domestic policy, and that for the last seven years of a very long and eventful life; in addition to this to be chancellor of the University of Oxford, to be the chief patron of literature and the arts, to be carrying on great drainage works, to be building palaces, law schools, and churches, to have introduced foreign horticulture into England, to be surrounded by the rising men of the age, and to be absolutely trusted and loved by his royal master, all constituted an amount of greatness for which it would be hard to find a parallel in this country. What it may most remind us of is the exceptional universality and versatility of some distinguished personages in the last generation. Even Wolsey lacked much of this, and if it be replied that he lived in an age of higher culture, and of more full-blown magnificence, and therefore had more greatness out of the same nominal offices, all historians agree that parsimonious as Henry VII. was by nature and early habit, he was resolved that the court should outshine all other grandeur and magnificence in the country, as in fact it did. There is little doubt that Cardinal Morton was of the same mind as regards his own position, and that he carried it into effect. The real drawback to all this glory was one from which Wolsey had to suffer often, but which Morton felt perhaps more than Wolsey was likely to do. He knew that it was an age of transition, and that had it been possible, the best thing to be done was to lay the foundation of a better time than England had yet seen, and turn the mind of the country in a better direction. This is no mere conjecture, for we have Morton's conversations related by More, and in striking correspondence with his character and career. But life was

short and the work long. Morton saw that there was nothing to be done, nothing at least that he could do, for the coming age, except to strengthen the foundations of order and authority. It may be quite true, as Dr. Hook suggests, that in the great question of Church and State, Henry VII. and his advisers, were all this time only feeding up the power and pretensions of two antagonists, by the ancient laws and customs of England fatally opposed, and destined soon to come into fell collision—the Crown of England and the Court of Rome. But even if that collision had been distinctly foreseen, it is not easy to see what else could have been done, and the public opinion of those days, it must be admitted, made little of a man appealing to an authority, whether that of the Church or that of the State, and then dealing with it as circumstances might require. In civil matters it is admitted by historians, that Henry's legislation was provident as well as foreseeing. Lord Bacon says, "His laws are deep, not vulgar; not made on the spur of "a particular occasion, for the present, but acts of providence "for the future; to make the estate of his people the more "and more happy; after the manner of legislators in ancient "and historical times."

In his "Outlines of Equity," Mr. F. O. Haynes quotes from the *Year-Books* the report of a case which has attracted the notice of both Mr. Spence and Lord Campbell, and is considered an example of the confusion likely to arise from the union of so many different functions in one man, but indifferently prepared for any one of them. "It appears that one of two executors, colluding with a "debtor to the testator's estate, had released the debtor. "The co-executor filed a bill against the executor and the "debtor. Chancellor Morton was disposed to give relief. "Fineux, counsel for the defendant, observes 'that there

"'is the law of the land for many things, and that many "'things are tried in Chancery which are not remediable "'at Common Law, and some are merely matter of con- "'science between a man and his confessor,' thus pointing "out accurately the distinctions between law, equity, and "religion. But the Chancellor retorts, 'Sir, I know that "'every law is, or ought to be, according to the law of "'God' (ignoring thus altogether any distinction between "law and religion); and then merging completely the "chancellor in the archbishop, he continues, 'and the "'law of God is, that an executor who is evilly disposed, "'shall not waste all the goods, &c. And I know well "'that if he do so, and do not make amends if he have "'the power, *il sera damné in hell.*' And then the Chan- "cellor proceeds, Mr. Haynes observes, to lay down some "rather unsound law." Whatever Morton did or said, suggests a decision promptly made, a tongue ready to speak, and a hand ready to strike. Our lawyers may smile at his law, but his decisions might nevertheless be just, and they had the advantage of costing little of either money or time.

For fifteen years, upon all public occasions whatever, Morton was the mouthpiece of this country, occupying a position in that respect not unlike that of public orator at a university. He opened Parliament; he declared and defended the king's intentions as regarded peace or war, or the levying of taxes; he received ambassadors with prepared speeches. His style—it was the style of the age—was rather what the orators used to call epidictic, with abundance of illustration, quotation, and ornament. It had not much of a deliberative, or of a judicial, character. In the year 1487 Charles VIII. sent an embassy desiring peace, for though there was then no war, still neither was there peace.

Apparently in entire forgetfulness of the timely aid Henry had received from Charles in the meantime, Morton reverted to the treaty of peace he had been instrumental in making with Louis XI., and demanded the punctual payment of the tribute. For some reason or other the demand was successfully resisted this time ; though four years after, 1491, the French king renewed the agreement to pay tribute to the English king, with pensions to some of his ministers, on the same terms as in the prior agreement between Edward and Lewis.

In the year 1488 Morton opened Parliament with a speech which professed to leave to the two Houses the decision between peace and war, as usual with the French king. The question had been almost precipitated by a private expedition embarked from the Isle of Wight by the queen's uncle, to the assistance of Brittany against France. Morton put before Parliament both sides of the question. One passage in favour of keeping up the independence of Brittany may be read with special interest in these days. "If Brittany be carried and swallowed up by France, as "the world abroad, apt to impute and construe the actions "of princes to ambition, conceive it will, then it is an ex- "ample very dangerous and universal, that the lesser neigh- "bour state should be devoured of the greater. For this "may be the case of Scotland towards England ; of Portugal "towards Spain ; of the smaller estates of Italy towards the "greater ; and so of Germany ; as if some of you of the "Commons might not live and dwell safely beside some of "these great Lords. And the bringing in of this example "will be chiefly laid to the king's charge, as to him that "was most interested, and most able to forbid it." On the other hand, the Chancellor urged, the French king had a good deal to say for himself, and this ought to be taken into

account. He felt, however, the king did not want to side with either, or to go to war at all, so the Chancellor threw his last and strongest considerations on the side of peace. They are such as might be expected from an observant, active, and genial man, who had lately spent many years among the industrious, ingenious, and thriving Flemings. "There is too much to be done at home," he says, "for "the restoration of order and the encouragement of pro- "fitable industry, for the nation to go lavishing its means in "foreign war." Against the habit of unlawful combination and confederacy by liveries, tokens, and other badges of dependence, as also against the barren uses of capital to which the owners of it were driven by the want of useful enterprise, he sets the encouragement of arts and handicrafts. In this he and his master were well agreed. Henry lent money largely, without any gain or profit, to assist traders in useful undertakings.

In 1493, upon the receipt of letters from Ferdinand and Isabella, signifying the final conquest of Granada from the Moors, Henry VII. "sent all his nobles and prelates that "were about the court, together with the mayor and alder- "men of London, in great solemnity to the church of St. "Paul, there to hear a declaration from the Lord Chancellor "now Cardinal. When they were assembled, the Cardinal, "standing upon the uppermost step, half-pace before the "choir, and all the nobles, prelates, and governors of the "city at the foot of the stairs, made a speech to them; "letting them know that they were assembled in that "consecrated place to sing unto God a new song. For "that, said he, these many years the Christians have not "gained new ground or territory upon the infidels, nor "enlarged and set further the bounds of the Christian world. "But this is now done by the prowess and devotion of

"Ferdinand and Isabella, Kings of Spain, who have, to their "immortal honour, recovered the great and rich kingdom of "Granada, and the populous and mighty city of the same "name from the Moors, having been in possession thereof "by the space of seven hundred years and more; for which "this assembly and all Christians are to render laud and "thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble act of the "King of Spain, who in this, is not only victorious but "apostolical, in the gaining of new provinces to the Christian "faith. And the rather, for that this victory and conquest "is obtained without much effusion of blood. Whereby it "is to be hoped, that there shall be joined not only new "territory but infinite souls to the Church of Christ, whom "the Almighty, as it seems, would have live to be converted. "Herewithal he did relate some of the most memorable "particulars of war and victory. And after his speech "ended, the whole assembly went solemnly in procession, "and *Te Deum* was sung." It is worth notice in this place that in the elaborately carved bench ends of the Church containing these pictures, there frequently occurs the conventional pomegranate. This has been considered simply as the emblem of Catherine of Aragon. But it is open to a question whether it did not express the universal joy of Christendom, of which there are so many other proofs, at the expulsion of the Moors from Granada.

On All Saints' Day, 1494, Prince Henry, then three years old, was invested with the Dukedom of York, having been knighted the day before, with processions and ceremonies of unparalleled magnificence, followed by a banquet and a series of jousts. "The Archbishop waited on the king "immediately after he had read matins in his private "chamber. Then the king did on his robes of estate royal, "the Archbishop, according to custom, placing the crown

"on his head." After various processions, and the act of investment, service was performed in Westminster Abbey, the mass sung by the Cardinal Archbishop assisted by other prelates, his crosier borne as customary by the Bishop of Rochester. At the conclusion of the service, the King took off his robes, washed, and sate down to dinner, the Archbishop sitting on his right hand, and no one else being admitted to the royal table, and all the great lords of the realm waiting on the king. This was the Church and State of those days, the head of the state, and the representative head of the Church, under circumstances unusually favourable to unity of sentiment and action. The whole ceremony in all its stages was designed to obtain the national recognition of a new Duke of York, and the submission of the old cause of that name. Henceforth there would be new Lancastrians and new Yorkists, but brothers, and guiltless of one another's blood. But never did human prescience show itself more at fault, even in its most anxious scannings and most studied anticipations of the future. Little did that prudent king and that wise cardinal know that the infant Duke of York whom they saw ceremonially and mystically watered and washed, and bedded and bathed, dubbed a knight, brought in by the Earls of Arundel, Derby, and Shrewsbury, with a coronet on his head, and a "verge" of gold in his hand, and finally fed and "served of the towel," would in a very few years be Prince of Wales, and then king; that he would carry his coronet high indeed, and make fell use of his verge of gold; that he would unite in one person the supremacy of the Church and the supremacy of the State, there severally typified by cardinal and king; that he would be the origin not only of a new family, but of a new church and nation; that he would abolish as vain superstition the greater part of what they saw and did that day;

and that for disputing his double supremacy he would bring to the scaffold Morton's dearest pupil Sir Thomas More, for whom the tutor could forecast all the elevation that talents could hope for, but not the noble end for which he is this day most remembered. Little could they have guessed that within a few generations all that would remain of the Cardinal's glory would be a name once or twice occurring with no significance in popular history, a defaced tombstone, and one single portraiture casually identified in the ornaments of a small village church.

In the year 1496 Morton had to open Parliament with an application for money and men to meet an invasion by the King of Scots. This was a very simple affair, it might be supposed, but the first wave of the revival of learning had just reached this country, and Morton, instead of commencing with a text from Scripture, which was the old usage of chancellors in opening Parliament, rather leant on the example of the Romans despatching Scipio against the Carthaginians in Spain, when themselves had been almost destroyed at the battle of Cannæ. From this he went on to Curtius, Scævola, Regulus, Marius, Sylla, Pompey and Cæsar, winding up with an appeal to Thomas Aquinas, on the question whether a man ought to die for his country.

Reference has already been made to the sorest point in Morton's memory, the assistance he gave Henry in the collection of "Benevolences." He has even been stigmatised as the inventor of a tax which in these days, by the light of the controversy between Charles I. and his Parliament, we are apt to regard as no tax, but a system of extortion. "Benevolences" were in truth the first rude form of income-tax, and did but take the place of still older contributions to the needs of the state. By continual change of custom and

manners those contributions had dwindled, while the needs of the state could not but increase ; and it became necessary to call on all who evidently possessed land, or money, or money's worth, to contribute according to their means, The claim was made alike on landowners, merchants, clergy, and all who were known to have the command of money. The name is traced to the reign of Edward IV., and Richard III. acquired a brief popularity by promising to abolish the impost, which however he could not have dispensed with. In view of the great difficulty of the collection, and the excuses certain everywhere to be made, Morton drew up a system of rules for the collectors, one of which has perhaps done more to perpetuate his name than all his good deeds. "If the persons applied to for a benevolence live "frugally, tell them that their parsimony must have en- "riched them, and therefore the king may expect from them "a liberal donation; if their method of living, on the con- "trary, be extravagant, tell them that they can afford to "give largely, since the proof of their opulence is evident from "their great expenditure." It was a dilemma from which there was no escape. Fuller, with his usual quaintness, describes it "as persuading prodigals to part with their "money because they did spend it most, and the covetous "because they could spare it best ; so making both extremes "to meet in one medium to supply the king's necessities." This was called "Morton's Fork," or "the Cardinal's Crutch." Bacon's version of it is, "If the Commissioners met with any "that were sparing, they should tell them that they must "needs have, because they laid up: and if they were "spenders, they must needs have, because it was seen in "their port and manner of living. So neither kind came "amiss."

It may be asked why a tax, the principle of which was

fairness, and whose chief fault was that it professed to be voluntary, should be so unpopular. In those days there were few taxes, either direct or indirect, yet the state must have a revenue. What better means than "Benevolences," as described? But we have only to remember that the modern income-tax, with all its careful adjustment to conditions and circumstances, is not popular, and is so much evaded that the evasions themselves are made an argument against it as a tax upon consciences escaped by those that have little or none. The real odiousness of the tax in Morton's time was that it could only be collected by side-winds and, it may even be said, in an underhand way. In the great break-up of the feudal system, in the vicissitudes of fortune, and the changes of cause or of king, there were few families or estates that had not incurred fines and forfeitures upon one ground or another. The conditions of the tenure had been neglected, or the estate had passed from hand to hand, whether in the proper line of devolution, or by purchase, or other means, without the proper acknowledgment to the feudal superior. The owners of land rejoiced in its liberation, but did not remember that what they had gained the crown had lost, and might reclaim possibly in strict law. It appears that, in fact, nearly all the soil of the country was in some kind of default, and accordingly Henry VII.'s commissioners went about everywhere finding flaws and weak points in the possession and occupation of property, for which they demanded a composition under the name of a "benevolence." It is not alleged that they made false accusations; indeed, as in the case of libels, in any question of title, or of personal right, the truth is more disagreeable than falsehood.

The interchange of good offices between the State and the Church, that is between Henry and the Cardinal,

with the Pope, in the background, doing nothing for nothing, has to be understood by the light of that age, and admits of extenuation on the plea of necessity. When Lambert Simnel was received and accepted by the Irish, and crowned at Dublin, only three of the Bishops there had the sense or the courage to withstand the popular delusion. So Morton obtained a Bull for the excommunication of the misguided or cowardly prelates, and they had to pay for its removal. In those days the right of asylum, though a merciful mitigation of the worst horrors of the civil wars, had been much abused. Sanctuaries were now not only the refuges but the strongholds of crime; and in the most central positions of the metropolis "sanctuary men" securely planned and easily committed fresh outrages. Morton obtained from the Pope that a second crime should be a forfeiture of sanctuary; that the property of a sanctuary man should be liable for his debts, and that the king might surround a sanctuary to prevent the escape of a man charged with treason. But, in return, the king and the primate had to allow the Pope to follow in his own way, and upon his own lines, the example set in taxation under the name of benevolences. Since the pope could get no regular subsidies from England, he instituted a new traffic in pardons for ordinary crimes, to be bought from his authorized agents, reserving chiefly the offences by which himself and the clergy might suffer.

Morton was a man of action, a good talker, and an orator. What he was as a writer cannot certainly be known. It is in Sir Thomas More's works that his memory is embalmed. The first book of the *Utopia* and, there appears to be no doubt, the *Life of Richard III.* were founded on recollections of his narratives and conversations. His large hospitality surrounded him with distinguished foreigners and promising

Englishmen; and, after the manner of the times, Christmas especially was celebrated with sacred plays and other ways of bringing out humour and wit. It was in such a sphere that More acquired the playfulness and the fancy, combined with common sense and knowledge of the world, that have gained for him the name of the first English writer. Morton and his pupil were Conservatives per force: that was their mission; though, while hardly knowing it, they paved the way for great changes. It will be sufficient here to give More's description of his master as it occurs in the *Utopia*. "John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, who "was also a cardinal, and the Chancellor of England, was "a man not more to be venerated for his high rank, "than for his wisdom and virtue. He was a man of "middle size, and in the full vigour of a green old age. "Though serious and grave in his deportment, he was never-"theless easy of access; and though his manner was some-"times brusque when suitors came before him to solicit his "favour, he acted with an object—that object being to "ascertain their abilities and presence of mind. Upon "those who exhibited readiness of wit without pertness he "found pleasure in bestowing his preferments; for in this "respect they resembled himself, and he regarded persons "so endowed as likely to be useful in public affairs. He "was a man full of energy, but of polished manners. "He was eminent as a lawyer, being a man of great "grasp of mind, and blessed with a prodigious memory. "By study and discipline he had improved the talents "with which nature had thus endowed him. The king "depended much upon the Archbishop's judgment, and "the Government seemed chiefly to be supported by him; "for he was a man who had passed from the schools "of learning into the courts of princes, and throughout a

"long life he had been versed in public affairs. Under "various mutations of fortune he had dearly purchased "for himself an amount of practical wisdom which, once "acquired, is not easily lost."

The drift of the imaginary conversation in the Utopia is and must remain an enigma; but perhaps the best and fairest account of it is that More, in this instance rendering Morton, wished to put forward the different sides of the social questions of that age fully and strongly, and then leave the decision to the reader. That in fact was the ancient method. The rhetoricians and other teachers in the schools of Greece and Rome made their scholars take opposite sides on the questions of the day, and interfered only so far as to correct the argument or the style, and to secure a gain for the better cause. The tradition was preserved in our own academic disputations and wranglings. At an early age, and probably for some years, Morton had been Moderator in the Civil Law School, and indeed, simply as an Oxford man, would be conversant with this mode of discussion. So he would now have all people think for themselves, as if in that way they would come to conclusions to which he could not himself invite them. Such is the character of the following appeal, put in the mouth of a supposed intelligent foreigner at Morton's house:—"If you suffer the people to receive "the worst possible education, to be trained from their "earliest years in habits of vice, and then when they "grow up punish them as men for the commission of "acts to which you have permitted them to become "habituated—what do you do, but first make them thieves, "and then condemn them to death for following your "instructions?"

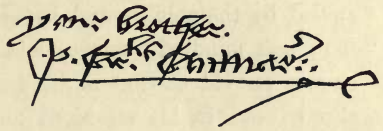
The conversation which led to this very sensible question had been opened by the supposed foreigner himself, who

mentioned that since he came to this country he had seen twenty robbers hanging on one gibbet, and, on inquiry, had found that robberies were not on the decrease. If, as seems likely, the "foreigner" here represents the result of many years spent abroad in Morton's own mind, it is a happy accident that the only signature of the Cardinal, if not also his only autograph extant, should be in the following letter to the Prior of Canterbury, informing him that he had obtained from the king the reprieve of two out of four men left for execution, and asking the Prior to find out as well as he could at short notice which two of the four were most deserving of mercy, and to proceed accordingly. The letter, possibly all by his own hand, but certainly signed by himself "Your brother, Jo. CARLIS CANTUAR," has just appeared in *Christ Church Letters*—a volume of mediæval letters relating to the affairs of the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, edited by J. B. Sheppard, M.R.C.S., and printed for the Camden Society:—

"CARDINAL MORTON *to the* PRIOR *of* CHRIST CHURCH.

"BROTHER PRIOR,—I recommaund me unto you. And "so it is that it hath pleased the Kyngs good grace, at my "sute and humble peticion, to pardone twayne of the iiij "men that shuld be put yn execucion now at Canterbury. "Wherapon I have wryten at this tyme unto the shiref, "desiryng hym, accordyng to the Kyngs mynde and "pleasur yn that behalf, to delyver unto you suche twayne "of thaym as ye shall chose and name. Wherfor I pray "you to name and take unto you suche twayne of thaym "as have done leste effence unto the Kyng yn this be-"half, and wher ye thenk moost accordyng that pitie "be shewed yn this case, after your discrecion apon "such knowlege as ye can hastely gett. And that ye do

"salvely to be kept the said ij persones, by you so chosen "and named, till ye know my further mynde on thar "behalf. From Lamehith the first day of December,



"*To my brother the Prior of Christschurche*
"*yn Canterbury.*"

It cannot often happen that a unique autograph, surviving the changes and chances of four hundred years, is so much what a man's best friends would have wished to stand for him.

In the year 1494 Morton was unanimously elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, apparently without having sought it. At his request, he was excused the oaths, having taken them already. He was also excused residence, which was then the rule. The university had no reason to repent its choice. He contributed largely to the restoration of the Canon Law School, in St. Edward's parish, to the completion of the University Church, then rebuilding, and also to the completion of the Divinity School. In these places his arms were set up, either in the windows in stained glass, or engraved in stone. They were curiously engraved on the base of the stone pulpit in St. Mary's, with the rebus of his name—an M on a ton. The pulpit was taken down at the restoration of the church in 1676. The arms and the rebus were also engraved on the respondent's pew, or stone seat, in the Divinity School, and were removed at the alteration of the interior in 1669. "But "though these monuments are decayed," says Anthony Wood, living at that time, "yet the memory of the person

"is fresh among some men who have said that he was "a wise and eloquent man, but in his nature harsh and "haughty; that he was much accepted by the king, but "envied by the nobility and hated by the people. He won "the king's mind with secrecy and diligence, chiefly because "he was an old servant in his less fortunes, and for that "also he was in his affections not without an inveterate "malice against the House of York, under which he had "been in trouble. *Whatever else was in the man, he "deserveth a most happy memory, in that he was the "principal means of joining the two Roses.*"

In June, 1495, according to the authorities referred to by Canon Robertson, in his *History of the Christian Church*, Morton was left by the Pope in charge of Rome on a very critical occasion. A few months previously, Charles VIII., King of France, on the Pope's own invitation, had taken a large army through Rome upon an expedition for the conquest of Naples. It was the first time the Italians had seen either artillery, except of the clumsiest kind, or cavalry better than hired bands, or infantry that could pretend to cope with cavalry and hold rank with it. The month's sojourn of the army led to many disagreeable incidents, and as soon as the French were well on their way south both the Pope and the King were breaking faith with one another. On Charles' return with half his forces from his unsubstantial and short-lived conquest, Alexander had abundant reasons for not wishing to see him. So, two days before his arrival, he went off to Orvieto, taking with him the Ambassadors who were of the League, and all the Cardinals, except the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he constituted his Vicar, with authority to receive Charles in his stead, and do him the honours of Rome. The French king entering Rome by the *Trastevere*,

and avoiding the Castle of St. Angelo, instead of proceeding to the apartments prepared for him in the Vatican, took up his quarters in the middle of the *Borgo*, then frequented by the English and French, where he could be near the building now pointed out to Englishmen as the Palace of Cardinal Wolsey.

Morton repaired the palace of Canterbury and the "Manor-house" at Lambeth, the gateway of which is his work. He nearly rebuilt the episcopal residences at Maidstone, Addington Park, Ford, and Charing. His arms appear in the tower of Wisbeach church in five or six different places. He improved the Archbishop's Palace at Knowle, in Kent. One particular alteration that Morton made there, Mr. Rickman observes, was very significant of the more peaceful and settled condition of the country to which he had contributed, and which he evidently had faith in. In 1460, that is about the date of the Battle of Towton, Archbishop Bourchier surmounted the Gate house with machicolations. At the end of the century, Archbishop Morton threw out an oriel window which rendered the machicolations useless, and showed that all idea of such fortifications was at an end.

Wisbeach Castle, built by the Conqueror, having fallen to ruin, Morton, soon after he became Bishop of Ely, raised on its site a brick tower from which he could watch and direct, or, as it is quaintly expressed, "oversee and set" the great work which still bears the name of Morton's Leame. The river Nene, and the ancient works connected with it, were no longer able to carry the fen waters straight off to the sea. The people in the neighbourhood of Ely and Peterborough had long complained that after a downfall of rain, the floods found ways for themselves here and there all over the country, destroying the banks and drowning the fields.

There survives a picturesque description of the erratic courses the water would take. Morton had been living for many years among people engaged in a continual conflict with the sea and the flood. For centuries the Flemish and Dutch engineers had been called in when the work baffled English skill, or when wit had to make up for shortness of means. If Morton, on finding his diocese half drowned, did not call in foreign advice, it was because he had acquired foreign skill; and Mr. Smiles the well-known writer, does not hesitate to call him the first of modern engineers. He immediately set about making a straight canal from near Peterborough to Guyhirne, near Wisbeach, forty feet wide, and four feet deep, the greatest depth allowable, when it was necessary to lay down gravelled crossings or fords at frequent intervals. Below Wisbeach he made new outlets into the sea, a matter of no slight difficulty, seeing that for this purpose he had to cut through ancient sea walls rising fifty feet above low water. The problem was how to obtain a good and constant fall in an almost level country, and it was considered a proof of complete success that when the work was finished a man could take a boat under Wisbeach bridge simply by veering. Including the outfalls, there were forty miles length of cutting. The canal was a great benefit to the whole country, and continued to act well for many years, till in process of time it suffered by the same causes as former works of the same kind, and had at last to be superseded to a great extent by Smith's Leame, in 1725. There never was any doubt about its efficiency as a drain, for it brought the High Fen into cultivation amounting to 4,387 acres.

Buck, who in the reign of James I. was employed, it would almost seem, by his royal master, to make the best of Richard III. and the worst of Henry VII., charges

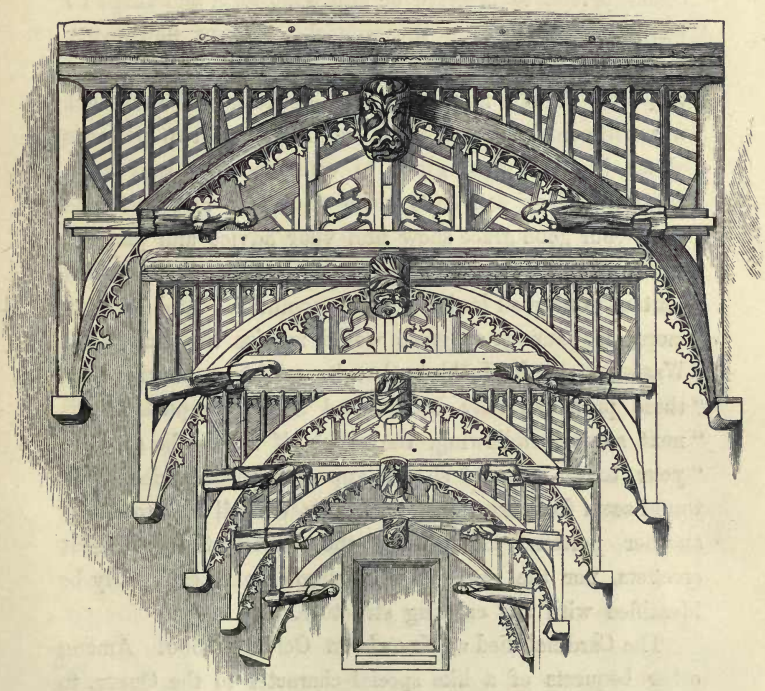
Morton with managing the fen waters simply as suited his episcopal estate, to the great hurt of other properties. His chief allegation is that the bed of the Nene was so raised by the operation of Morton's Leame that large ships could no longer come up to the port of Wisbeach, but had to be moored lower down. But such changes are always in progress, unless counteracted, especially in rivers flowing through alluvial soil and meeting the tide. Vermuyden, and afterwards Smeaton, proposed to improve and control the outfall of the Nene by a sluice, such as at Middlesbrough and Ostend, but the money could not be found. All such works are costly, and very apt to get out of order, indeed to disappear altogether, as happened sixteen years ago, when the Middle Level Sluice, near King's Lynn, the work of modern English engineers, sank into the mud. But in truth no inland district can be drained without giving the water a more rapid passage, and this cannot but create, or aggravate a difficulty further down. When Whittlesea Mere was drained there were those who predicted that the Mere would come down to the coast, and when the Marshland Fen was inundated by the above-mentioned failure, the prediction was said to be fulfilled. The great landowners of Lincolnshire are now on the point of commencing an operation very like Morton's. The improved drainage of the interior has increased the evil of sudden floods, which, under the advice of Sir John Hawkshaw, it is proposed to conduct to the sea, at the estimated outlay of £600,000, by a new and straight channel for the Wytham, beginning two miles from Lincoln. When this is done, it is possible that Boston and Skirbeck will have to look out.

While Bishop of Ely, Morton built what is now the old part of Hatfield House, Herts, then belonging to

that bishopric, now the seat of the Marquis of Salisbury. The maintenance of Rochester Bridge—on the one road to the continent, and of strategic importance—was divided by an old arrangement between the chief proprietors of Kent, and the Archbishop had to keep up two of the arches. But the whole bridge, rebuilt a century before this, was now in a ruinous state, and Morton undertook to restore it. He published a remission from Purgatory for forty days, and from all manner of fines, to such persons as should contribute to the repairs. For this, as well as for other works carried on at his own expense in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, he held a commission to impress stone hewers. Not the least striking and characteristic monument of the Cardinal is the roof which he brought, local tradition says, from Italy, but no doubt from the neighbourhood of Ely, for the nave of the Church of Bere Regis, near which he was born. It is in the general style of the eastern counties, but of much more solid and trustworthy construction than is usual in the Suffolk churches. The heavy tie-beams, the arches, the mullions, the huge bosses, and the angels for hammer-beams suggest a combination of principles and forces significant of the joiner of the Roses. It must be confessed, however, that as the material is in excess, the construction manifold, and the decorations redundant, one is led to suppose that either the persons employed wished to make the most of the commission, or that Morton himself had a mind to bring together within a small compass the most striking features of all the roofs, wood or stone, tied or arched, that he was familiar with, that of Westminster Hall, perhaps, being the uppermost idea. Mr. G. E. Street, who was called in to report on the church some years ago, observes:—

"The feature which more than any other excites admiration

"is the roof of the nave; the effect of this is very fine; "there is a rude magnificence about it which is very "striking; such massive timbers, covered with such rich "and quaint carving, are rarely to be met with; and "the series of figures which do duty on the hammer-beams



"is exceedingly picturesque." Further on he says, "The "restoration of the nave roof is a work which has claims "on a far wider circle than the parishioners of Bere Regis." It has now been completed.

The magnificent central tower, the Angel Steeple at

Canterbury, is ascribed to Archbishop Morton and Prior Goldstone. In the volume of "Christ Church Letters" already quoted there is a draft letter from Prior Sellying to the Archbishop, requesting his decision on a question of taste in regard to his tower. "Master Surveyor and I," he says, "have communed with John Wastell, your mason, "bearer hereof, to perceive of him what form and shape he "will keep in raising up the pinnacles of your new tower "here. He drew unto us two patterns of them. The one "was with double finial, without crockets, and the other "was with crockets and single finial. These two patterns "please it your good grace to command the said John "Wastell to draw and shew them unto you, and upon the "sight your good grace shew him your advice and pleasure "which of them two, or of any other to be devised shall "content your good lordship to be appointed. And further- "more, if your good grace would require the said John "Wastell so to do, I think that he might so provide that "these pinnacles may be finished and accomplished this "next summer following, the which, if it may be so, then "your tower outward should appear a work perfect." It would seem from the result that John Wastell had to devise another pattern, for neither the double finial without crockets, nor the crockets with single finial, can easily be identified with the existing structure.

The Cardinal died at Knowle in October 1500. Among other bequests of a like special character to the Queen, to the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, to relations, and to the universities, he left a cup of gold and forty pounds in money to the most benign Lady Margaret, "his little daughter," that is, his god-daughter, Henry's eldest daughter, afterwards married to the King of Scots, and grandmother of Mary and of her husband Lord Darnley.

At his express desire, and as a token of humility, the Cardinal was buried in the crypt of his cathedral, "in a sumptuous chapel," constructed by himself, before the image of the Virgin. Near his now empty grave, though it would seem not directly over, is an altar tomb with an effigy in pontifical dress, much shattered, and with the features defaced even to flatness. Engravings of it as it once might have been will be found in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*. The soffit of the arch over, as well as the inner faces of the piers were covered with the ornaments of this monument; which consisted, says Britton, of niches and canopies, several episcopal and other statues, the Cardinal's hat and personal ornaments, and the letters MOR, with a figure of a ton or cask. There is also over the ton a mort, or falcon. Britton says that the rebus of a ton, with MOR upon it, is to be found in the Lanthorne, or "Bell Harry Steeple," above referred to as the central tower. Such devices may seem childish to the taste of our times, but they were then in universal use, and the introduction of the Cardinal's rebus into the design of the gold vessel held by the Prince removes all doubt as to the presence of the Cardinal in the group to which this notice is prefixed. Weever, in his *Funeral Monuments* (A.D. 1631), describes the monument at Canterbury, and, after characterizing John Morton as "a man borne for the good of all England," adds an epitaph of his own composition, in default of one to be found there. Apologizing for his want of power to do justice to his subject, he says:—"A man so well-deserving both of the Church "and Commonwealth, that all honours and offices were too "little that were conferred upon him; of a piercing wit "he was, very learned, and honourable in behaviour, lacking "no wise ways to win love and favour, by whose deep "wisdom and policy the two houses of York and Lancaster

"(whose titles for a long time had mightily disquieted the "whole kingdom) were happily united. But our English "chronicles are so full and copious in this Bishop's com- "mendation that I know not where to begin with him, "nor how to take my leave of him."

Early in the 17th century, when the Tudor dynasty had passed away, and a considerable change had come over public opinion and sentiment, there arose a disposition to review the personages and events of the period which brought in Henry VII. and his marvellous progeny. Next to his royal master, Morton is the chief object of this very natural interest. Lord Bacon gave his life in that of Henry VII., and evidently felt a great admiration for him. Buddon, a relative of the Morton family, collected traditions about him, and said so much, and that so well, that the regret is he did not say more. Buck, Master of the Revels to James I., upon some mysterious inspiration, attempted to reverse the universal judgment of time on the characters of the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Richmond, and to show the former more sinned against than sinning. It was necessary to his purpose that he should represent Morton in the light of a renegade, and in so doing he interpreted, more harshly perhaps than the writer had intended, some lines which have become memorable, while the poem they are quoted from is forgot. Mr. Buck, who was afterwards knighted for his services, says;—"And to give us yet "further character of Bishop Morton, Sir Thomas Moore "tells us his inclinations were swayed to the dangerous "positions and rules of policy; and Dr. John Hird in "his metrical 'History of England,' brings him in "an Ambodexter and observer of fortune—one while "Yorkizing, another while Lancastrizing, thus delivering "himself:—

"'Si Fortuna meis favisset partibus olim
Et gnato Henrici Sexti diadema dedisset,
Edwardi nunquam venissem regis in aulam,
Sed quia Supremo stetit hæc sententia Regi,
Henrico auferre et Edwardo reddere sceptrum,
Tanta meam nunquam lusit dementia mentem
Ut sequerer partes regis victi atque sepulti
Adversus vivum.'

"which may be thought well said by a mere politician, but "from a friend it wants something of a Christian; for true "friendship and piety will own us in the blackest adversity "and silence of the grave, as the divine Ariosto hath some-"thing near observed in this elegant stanza:—

"'Alcun non può saper da chi sia amato,
Quando felice in su la rota siede,
Però che ha i veri, e i finti amici a lato,
Che mostran tutti una medesma fede.
Se poi si cangia in tristo il lieto stato,
Volta la turba adulatrice il piede;
E quel, che di core ama, riman forte,
Ed ama il suo Signor dopo la morte.'

"'No man while he was happy ever knew
Assuredly of whom he was beloved;
For then he hath both feigned friends and true,
Whose faith seems both alike till they be proved.
But he is left of all the flattering crew
When from his happy state he is removed;
But he who loves in heart, remains still one,
And loves his friend when he is dead and gone.'

"Doctor Morton's aims were drawn from other rules, "which with good alacrity made him Archbishop and Lord "Chancellor of England, and put him the next list into "a cardinalship; and then he stood on tiptoes by the king, "according to the Roman marshalling of states; for on the "Pope's list of ranges and presence his holiness is the first, "then the emperor, next a cardinal, then a king; and in this

"Sir Thomas Moore notes the extremity of his pride, to "abuse his wisdom and piety, which otherwise might have "kept him and his memory unsullied in these preferments, "so much our vices imposthumate our fames, hypocrisie "leaving the scar but of a deformed cure upon it at best."

Buck then proceeds to charge Morton with extorting from the clergy large sums for his own use, driving the people to rebellion with grievous taxes, and managing the River Nene for his own convenience. On the last point, though he makes some particular statements, it is plain he was but slightly acquainted with the facts of the case. Shortly after, when Sir G. Buck is making out to Henry's disparagement that as he felt himself firmly seated on the throne he leant to the right of conquest, and claimed to have decided all dynastic questions by his own court of final appeal, he says:—"But the Chancellor Morton, by a "more happy and plausible insinuation, termed the marriage "a union of York and Lancaster, and not improperly, nor "without a favourable acceptance to the king, at least in "the beginning of his reign."

Sir George Buck, the author of this pleasant rhapsody, did not trouble himself to inquire what cause the defeated Lancastrians were to show an undying loyalty to, when there remained no person, no government, no league, no principle to be fought for, no purpose to be answered: in a word, nothing but that country and that faith which were happily common to both the Red and the White Rose. The event showed that submission to the victorious and not less generous Edward was the soundest patriotism. The romantic loyalty described by Ariosto had full scope in Italy, where every State had governments that were, or that had been, or that were to be, and where every man of the least note was in power or a fugitive. It may even be thought prophetic

of the devotion shown by the adherents of Charles I., and, under very different circumstances, by the Non-Jurors. But if we take a wider view, and come down to modern times, we should find it hard to prove that undying and uncompromising attachment to dynasties, or leaders, or principles of government, has been more beneficial than otherwise, either to the cause itself, or to States, or to the course of human affairs. The author quoted above was the founder of the modern school of historic paradox. He had the advantage of dealing with an epoch which for more than a century had been forbidden ground, and on which it was now possible and permitted to throw various lights. All that can be said for his work is that it is more solid, interesting, and rational than Mr. Horace Walpole's singularly flimsy production. That gentleman, in a course of desultory reading, and with the run of our public records, then it must be added in utter confusion, became acquainted with a good many particulars, more curious than really significant, and conceived the idea of using these petty discoveries, not for filling up the gaps of history, but for upsetting it altogether. As a sample of Mr. Walpole's critical faculty, it may be enough to mention that finding from the Wardrobe accounts that robes were provided for Lord Edward and his brother (Edward V. and the Duke of York), in the order for Richard III.'s coronation, only three weeks after the famous scene in the Tower, Mr. Walpole concludes not only that they appeared in the Coronation, which is likely enough, and the very thing Richard III. would desire; but, still more, that he had such a tender regard for their position and dignity that it is not possible to conceive him capable of any cruelty or injustice to them.

There remains the question, what is to be thought of the man, and what is his proper place among the worthies

of his land? Morton made no direct appeal to posterity. He wrote nothing that has come down; he raised no mighty fabric to enshrine his memory. He was engrossed in business, encumbered with many successive objects of present and practical usefulness or urgency beyond even the ample means and the length of years at his disposal. He had to deal with academic institutions, with a jurisprudence, a Church, a realm, indeed a society altogether in a state of disorganization and decay. Despotic remedies were necessary, and he was equal to their use. He never failed to do what was wanted, though possibly at some cost to his finer or more generous feelings. It was a true, though humble, judgment he pronounced on himself when, in spite of strong expostulation, he would be buried and have his monument in the heart of the dark undercroft of his cathedral, far below the gorgeous and towering shrines of his not more illustrious predecessors. But since the mind craves for definition, and the eye will trace an epitaph even on the bare slab; where, and in what characters, are we to read Morton's earthly rank and his secular doom? History seems to save us the trial of accurate discrimination. His work, such as it was, stood and prospered. Peace, order, security, wealth, art, science, learning, literature, humanity, and all that nations now most value, flourished under the vigorous dynasty that Morton inaugurated. The throne, which had long been the weakest institution in the country, became for a century almost too strong. The Church of England retained, under a more defined national independence and royal supremacy, its primitive position, and its original endowment, at the sacrifice of much that later ages had heaped upon it. The religious question assumed from that date the front place it still has in English controversy.

But nearer to Morton himself, and in more immediate connection with what he did, or did not, we may discern that which should console the most ambitious of us if we have not been called to put nations in the right groove, or the world in order. It is true he ended his days in comparative peace and undiminished honour; in striking contrast with the unhappy failure of Bourchier's political engagements, Deane's brief primacy, Warham's thickening perplexities, Wolsey's utter downfall, and Cranmer's bitter death. He lived to see Henry firmly seated on the throne, and his heir on the eve of a splendid alliance. He saw everywhere, both in the Church and in the nation, the signs of material prosperity. On the other hand, he had to deplore Henry's growing unpopularity, and to bear more than his just share of it. One of the latest incidents of his time was the western insurrection, suppressed and punished with a rigour hateful to his own nature. He lived a year too long in that he was compelled to accept, and as the keeper of Henry's conscience, in some degree to connive at, the political murder of the childlike Earl of Warwick, after the mockery of a trial in a packed house of peers, on suborned testimony for a fabricated crime. The sword thenceforward never departed from Henry's house; but we look in vain for the prophet that rebuked him. The doom of that prophet was that he gave much of his heart to perishable things, and saw not that they were passing away. The palaces that Morton built, or delighted in, even that where he breathed his last breath, went away from the Church. The magnificence he enjoyed came to its climax in Wolsey's hands, underwent a change in Cranmer's, and is now history. Up to the Reformation the Primate had twelve palaces and houses of residence within the diocese of Canterbury:—Bekesburn, Ford, Maidstone, Charing,

Saltwood, Aldington, Wingham, Wrotham, Teynham, Knowle, Otford, and Canterbury. All these have passed into other hands, or remain only as ruins, or have not even left one stone upon another, till a century ago it was noticed that the Primate had no palace in his own diocese, and had to ask hospitalities, or go into the neighbouring diocese, to receive his clergy. Thus much for the edifices on which so large a part of Morton's energies, time, and opportunity were thrown away. These belonged to his later days. What was the fruit of his more lifelong interests? Would he have recognised in the future of Oxford the traces of his fostering care? He might, perhaps, for the word had already gone forth, "Found schools of learning and not monasteries," and his own friends had done accordingly. But Oxford of this day knows him not. Two centuries ago it erased his memorials from its Church and Divinity School.

One work of common utility, which employed Morton's earlier and more vigorous years, supplied incidentally the means for a great political success, and has left its name on the map of England. Last New Year's Day, the Marquis of Huntly, on turning the first sod of an intended new dock at the new town of Sutton Bridge, eight miles below Wisbeach, spoke of Bishop Morton as the reclaimer of the whole region between Peterborough and the Wash, including, or directly affecting, considerable portions of four counties. "He conceived the idea," the Marquis said, "of converting a meandering stream into a watercouse "capable of draining that enormous area of swamp, and he "succeeded," though Wisbeach has its quarrel with his memory, as it has too with the Marquis's present design. It is certain, however, that Morton did what he could to keep the Nene navigable, though while he was bent on

helping the land, he could not do all that an ancient and half-choked seaport wanted of him.

To pass from material undertakings, how did it fare in the event with that political pre-eminence which the Cardinal held next the Crown, over every lesser greatness in the land, and singularly illustrated in the gorgeous ceremony above described of the creation of the Duke of York? The infant prince, whose knightly armour he then consecrated, employed it to strip the English Church of its wealth and power, and to separate it from all the churches of Christendom? What was there then that Morton, had he been blessed with prophetic vision, might have cast a lingering look upon when he found himself speeding away to a more abiding home? He might perhaps have wished to see once more, holding in her girlish hands the well-filled cup of gold he left her, the "most benign" Lady Margaret, his "little daughter," destined to unite the discordant realms of this isle, and, with much adversity, to be the mother of its kings.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Nicholas Monk, Rector of Plymtree.

Strange as it may seem, there is some likelihood that these humble and obscure memorials of now forgotten greatness have had their part, as mute but persuasive reminders, in the making of history. Nicholas Monk, brother of the famous General, and the third son of Sir Thomas Monk, of Potheridge, was born about 1609. About 1626 he was entered at Wadham College, Oxford, where he was admitted B.A. March 3, 1631, and M.A. Oct. 23, 1633. He married Susannah, daughter of Thomas Payne, of Plymtree, a widow it is said. A Mr. Thomas Payne was Rector at the time, a very aged man, having succeeded to the living in 1576, the second from the Reformation, and the lady was probably his daughter. A daughter of this gentleman was married, and another buried, in the year 1625. In the Booke of Christnings is found "Nicholas Muncke, the 3rd of August, 1643," who was buried February 6, 1652, carried off probably in a village epidemic, for his burial is one of ten in a month, there being no other burials that year. In the year 1643, therefore, and some time previously it may be fairly inferred, the subject of this notice was serving the church as resident curate. He was thus connected with Plymtree, for not less than seventeen years; for it does not appear that he resigned this living on accepting another, and his name appears in the Parish Book as contributing largely to a sort of voluntary rate till a year or two before the Restoration. It is also prominent in the list of "Gifts and Charitable Benefactors to the Poor of Plymtree" put up early last century, if not earlier. Through his predecessor, and the old Plymtree family into which he had married, he must have received in comparative freshness the traditions of the Tudor period. He could not but understand the personages introduced in the quaint group he had at his

elbow every time he ministered in the church. He was more or less contemporary with Budden, like himself an Oxford man, author of a Life of Morton; with Sir George Buck, the assailant of Morton's memory; with Weever and Anthony Wood, who both give accounts of Morton, and describe him as still held in strong and grateful remembrance. Nicholas Monk would be familiar with the Cardinal's rebus on the pulpit of the University Church, and on the Respondent's seat in the Divinity School. The whole group had its significance to him, however little to his more recent successors.

A passage in Hume's account of Charles II.'s wanderings after the battle of Worcester, connects the traditions of the Wars of the Roses with the loyalty of the Caroline age. Colonel Windham, of Dorsetshire, an affectionate and zealous partizan of the royal family, in whose house the king, reported to be dead, continued nineteen days, told him, that "Sir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few "days before his death, called to him his five sons. 'My children,' "said he, 'we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our "'three last sovereigns; but I must now warn you to prepare for "'clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the "'tranquillity of your native country. But whatever happens, do "'you honour and obey your Prince, and adhere to the Crown. I "'charge you never to forsake the Crown, *though it should hang upon "'a bush.*'" "These last words," added Windham, "made such "impressions on all our breasts, that the many afflictions of these "sad times could never efface their indelible characters." "From "innumerable instances it appears," adds the historian, "how deeply "rooted in the minds of the English gentry of that age was the "principle of loyalty to their sovereign—that noble and generous "principle, inferior only in excellence to the more enlarged and more "enlightened affection towards a legal constitution." It was on Bosworth Field that the Crown was found *hanging upon a bush.* Those dying words of Colonel Windham were spoken only two or three years before Nicholas Monk married and settled at Plymtree. Though a man of such simplicity that one may detect something like a smile at every mention of his name, he must have been well informed, with considerable weight of character, and by no means idle in the king's cause. Clarendon, who had no love for the name, says that "through the ill times he carried himself with "singular integrity, and was in great reputation with all those that "constantly adhered to the king." On the death of Mr. Payne in 1646, Nicholas Monk succeeded to the living. His possession of it

was questioned under the Commonwealth; but as it was small and unimportant, he was allowed to hold it by favour of his brother. It is noteworthy that he finished the first Register Book dating from the Reformation, and began the second, in 1648.

At that date, and for some years after, Nicholas Monk could have but little communication with his brother George, or with their relatives the Grenvilles, then with Charles II., or fighting his battles. For the course of events that brought him nearer to his celebrated cousin, Sir John Grenville, it is sufficient to follow the narrative of Dr. Skinner, physician to the Duke of Albemarle, and his country neighbour and intimate friend in his declining years. In 1651, the Scilly Islands having revolted from Parliament, and sent their submission to Charles II., asked for a Governor and forces. He appointed Sir John Grenville, then about 23 years of age, and ordered the Marquis of Ormond to send him 300 Irish soldiers. Parliament, in some indignation at being defied by two or three little islands, after having pretty well disposed of England, Ireland, and Scotland, "ordered Admirals Blake and Aiscough, with a good "force of men-of-war and soldiers to attack the Island. Blake "came before Scilly with so considerable a force, that Sir John "Grenville and those officers with him presently found they should "not be long able to hold the island against him. But putting a "good face upon an ill business, they slighted his summons, and "prepared themselves for defence. Yet afterwards coming to a "treaty, the island was surrendered upon articles so honourable "and advantageous to the besieged that the Parliament refused to "confirm them. But General Blake, who was a person of honour "and generosity, telling his masters how little he cared to keep "his commission otherwise than by keeping his word, they were "at last contented that this agreement should be allowed. By "the benefit of these articles Sir John Grenville came into a con-"dition to compound for his estate, and to live quietly in his own "country. And retiring himself to his seat at Kelkhampton in "Cornwall, upon the borders of Devonshire, he found not only his "estate, but also the Parsonage, under sequestration. The incumbent "Mr. Oliver Rowse, being turned out of his living for disaffection "to the Parliament, the sequestrator had introduced his son. But "some time after the return of Sir John Grenville thither, by the "death of Mr. Rowse (in February, 1652) the living came again into "Sir John's gift. The sequestrator was very earnest with him to "confirm his son-in-law by granting him the presentation; and the "value was considerable, with the very best of the country, being

"worth £300 per ann. In those villanous times the sequestered "loyal party found it their interest to oblige those publicans and "sequestrators; but Sir John Grenville had a greater design in his "eye than his own private advantage. For both himself and some "others of his relations were not without hopes that at one time or "other their cousin Monk, in Scotland, might become a useful man "for his Majesty's service; and though he wanted opportunity of "obliging the General himself, yet he resolved to come as near it as "he could in being kind to his brother, Mr. Nicholas Monk, who "was already settled in the country, in a moderate living, where he "had married a widow with some accession of fortune; and, in those "dangerous and unquiet times, possessed a sweet and comfortable "privacy. To this gentleman, who was also his cousin-german, Sir "John Grenville was resolved to give the living of Kelkhampton, "and therefore sent for him to his house, when, after other discourse, "and some conference relating to General Monk in Scotland, he very "freely gave to him the presentation, upon no other condition or "reserve, but that if he should afterwards have occasion to use or "employ him, he would be assured of his readiness therein, which "was very willingly promised by Mr. Nicholas Monk, and it was "afterwards as faithfully performed. Mr. Monk had in those times "the character of a very worthy person, and was generally looked "upon as a man firmly devoted to the king and Church of England; "yet by his moderate and silent behaviour he had escaped with less "observation than many others of that party and principles. But "though he had received the presentation from his patron, yet before "he could be legally admitted into this living he was to run the "gauntlet at London, through a contrivance called in those times the "Committee of Tryers, which was made up chiefly of camp-chaplains, "and other incendiaries of the pulpit; where if any man came for "approbation, with a living of value, they had a thousand tricks and "rogueries in readiness to frustrate the presentation, and dispose of "it among themselves or their party. Mr. Monk, very well knowing "the character that was put upon him, had some distrust of these "Tryers; but though they liked the living better than the man, yet "understanding his relation to General Monk in Scotland, they were "afraid to put any of their tricks upon him, but dismissed him and "his title with allowance."

The jealousy of the Tryers, however, had been already well deserved, for, as Lord Clarendon observes, Nicholas Monk had a great reputation with the Royalists; and General Monk's domestic chaplain, in the narrative we shall shortly have to refer to, expressly describes

the presentation to Kelkhampton as partly a recognition of services already done, as well as a means of bringing him out of danger's way, and nearer his cousin, Sir John. His position at Plymtree was evidently one of importance, as appears from the Esquire affixed to his name in the Register, and it was not without its advantages that it was fifty miles nearer London than the residence of the Grenvilles. It cannot have been till after Cromwell's death, or shortly before it, that he settled at Kelkhampton, if, as Dr. Skinner says, about a year after his settling there Sir John had to leave the country and reside in London for the operations which led to so quick and felicitous a result. In the Kelkhampton Register there is the entry of a marriage by N. Monk, Dec. 17, 1655, preceded and followed by the civil entries of that period; but that might be an exceptional incident arising directly out of the relationship of the Monks and the Grenvilles. When Sir John left Kelkhampton for London, and shortly after summoned thither his cousin Nicholas, General Monk had been for some years at Dalkeith Palace, governing Scotland as one of the Protector's Council of State, and enjoying the devotion of a formidable army and the love of the people, notwithstanding the fact that his rule was the most arbitrary ever known in Scotland. All that Cromwell had ventured to do was to allude playfully in his correspondence with him to his supposed design of bringing about a Royal Restoration. Not long before his death, the Protector wrote to him with his own hand, and in the letter was a bit of drollery, as it came to be called, worthy of him. "'Tis said there is a cunning "fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who lies in wait there "to serve Charles Stuart. Pray use your diligence to take him, "and send him up to me." What Monk's designs really were, and whether he had any design at all, except to do his duty under existing circumstances, was a question at that day, and is so still. Guizot, the French statesman, who, beginning in the year 1838, published as many as a dozen volumes on the Cromwells, Monk, and the Restoration, and who subjected Monk's career to every possible scrutiny in the hope of extracting from it the elixir of political restoration, had to confess himself baffled.

Something has to be said here on the General, for it bears on the part to be assigned to the clergyman. That Monk was a man of the warmest family affections appears from his conduct to his father, his brother, his cousins, to the eccentric and very provoking lady whom he had made his wife, and to his sons—the one that died in infancy, as well as the one for whom he accumulated his wealth, and whom, in his dying hour, he saw married at his bedside.

Though his references to his soldier's oath of duty are sometimes treated as if made for the occasion, there is no room to doubt their sincerity. Further, his chief characteristic was an utter disgust at the prevailing hypocrisies, and a certain sense that it was allowable to pay them off in their own coin. His objects from day to day were order, justice, and the public good, and for these he carried his life in his hand. It was his singular fortune to win in succession the affection of three very different populations, those of Dublin, Edinburgh, and London. Imperturbable, and apparently impassive, with little grace of manner or speech, "with no education," as Clarendon bitterly says, "but Devonshire and Dutch," he submitted to the necessities of the hour, and met prying questions with what Guizot describes as "an absolute indifference to truth." As this expression seems to amount to an acceptance of the character given to Monk by his enemies, it is suggested that Guizot did not perhaps use the word "absolutely" in the common English sense of utterly, but rather as implying an indifference to exact and literal truth, and that he designed no impeachment of Monk's honour as a gentleman. The General had often in his mouth a saying very common in those evil times, which rather proved the dangers which then beset social frankness, than the dishonesty of those who had recourse to this mode of self-protection. "He who follows Truth too close upon the heels will one time or other have his brains kicked out." Being of a royalist family, having suffered considerably in the king's cause, retaining a "cavalier," that is an Episcopalian, domestic chaplain, having a Presbyterian wife, and other royalist friends about him, and meanwhile evidently resolved to hold his ground in Scotland in the heart of a Presbyterian reaction, he could not but be distrusted by Cromwell and the English Independents. He was far out of the turmoil of London politics, and had a way of taking things easily, and amusing himself with rural affairs. For years he was regarded as the probable master of the situation, in case of his surviving Cromwell, and what use he would make of the opportunity none could tell. Monk was uppermost in Cromwell's last thoughts. He earnestly advised his son Richard to seek Monk's aid and counsels. The gain, if any, would be on Richard's side, all the risk on Monk's; and no small risk it was for a man to put himself within reach of his enemies, or of his rivals, in those days. Through various channels overtures had already come to Monk from the exiled court. On August 12, 1655, when he was at Dalkeith, originally on a commission to suppress the Scotch rising in favour of Charles II., that prince wrote to him to the effect that he knew the General was at heart with him, and

that he advised him "to be always ready, but in the meantime to "have a care to keep out of the hands of those who knew the hurt "he could do them in a good conjuncture." Monk, who understood this to mean he was to keep in Scotland or Ireland, never answered the letter, though he carefully preserved it, and is even said to have sent Cromwell a copy.

The Protector passed away in a storm. His son had to submit to the Council of Officers at Wallingford House, and shortly after to allow the revival of the Long Parliament, and resign to it what was left of his authority. This famous body, by the exclusion of Royalists and Presbyterians, had dwindled down to seventy men, all intensely Independent; and its first act was, by an Oath of Abjuration, to prevent any accession to its numbers and weight. It got at once the name of the Rump Parliament, by which it is best known, while they who wished to speak of it in a more neutral sense called it the Juncto. The great majority of the people, either Episcopalian or Presbyterian, were not represented either in the Council, or in Parliament, or in the higher ranks of the army. Parliament and the army were thus a minority, and yet could not run together, which was their only chance. There was no other feeling than contempt for the one and fear of the other. The Royalists were putting their heads together, and here and there were on the point to rise. Affairs tended to a general confusion. All eyes were turned to see what Monk would do. Would he aspire to Cromwell's seat, or even to the throne? In Scotland he had received every encouragement. "Old George is the man for our money," the people said. "He is much more fit for a Protector than Dick Cromwell." The soldiers said they would march anywhere behind George Monk. Well might they say this, for he had taken, almost at sight, the three impregnable fortresses, as they were supposed, of Edinburgh, Leith, and Stirling, the last of which had retained its character of a virgin fortress, so said an inscription over the gateway, under a hundred and six kings. General Monk always did his work in thorough business style. He kept his army well paid and provided; trade and credit good; and £70,000, then a large sum, ready for any emergency. The fact is he had been compelling England to subsidise Scotland, as both countries knew.

Sir George Booth's rising compelled the Royalists to take action. He was not to have moved till sure of support by his brother Confederates; but Sir Richard Willis having betrayed them, he had to fight for it with a few raw soldiers, and unarmed Welshmen. Sir John Grenville had just before sent to Hyde a letter in cipher,

suggesting to the king to give him more extensive powers to treat with General Monk, and to persuade him to join the royal cause. The difficulty was how to communicate with Monk, so Sir J. Grenville, then in London, informed the king that he had shortly before brought into his neighbourhood in the country a brother of the General, who was ready to convey any message to him, and who could be thoroughly trusted. The king approved of the choice, and besides a letter to Sir J. Grenville giving him very full powers to treat with Monk, and make large promises to him and his officers, sent also secret instructions, and a letter referring to them, to be given to Nicholas Monk, and conveyed to the General. It was the original intention that the letter should be handed to the General, and the secret instructions delivered by word of mouth only, but Nicholas very naturally felt that if the errand was a dangerous one, and indeed that was certain, a letter referring to secret instructions might bring the bearer into even greater trouble than a letter expressing all that was to be told. He therefore left both letters with Sir J. Grenville, and trusted to his memory, which was not, indeed, very severely taxed. The king promised Monk continuance in his present command, a peerage and an estate in land, and £100,000 a year, to be divided as Monk should direct, between himself and such of his officers as should adhere to him. The date of the king's letters is July 21, 1659.

Sir J. Grenville started Nicholas Monk at once for Scotland. Commissary Clarges, the General's brother-in-law, got a vessel for him, and embarking at London, August 5; in three or four days he landed at Leith, and immediately made his way to Dalkeith Palace, just at the height of the alarm at Sir J. Booth's insurrection. Nicholas had a pretext for his journey that would pass well both in England and Scotland. His eldest daughter was with the General, and he went to fetch her home on account of an offer of marriage on which he wished to consult his brother. The General received him kindly, and finding that he had important communications to make to which he could not then properly attend, for he had summoned his council for the preparation of some despatches, he left him in the hands of Dr. Price, the domestic chaplain above referred to. Dr. Price saw at once that he was very full of something. It was therefore with very little leading that Nicholas, who had long known this gentleman to be a strong Cavalier, and also a man of honour, let out the main part of what he had to say. "Therefore was he sent by his cousin Grenville to try if he "could bring over his brother into the king's service, and to espouse

"his cause. Sir John Grenville hoped, he said, that his brother "George might be as successful in it as was the famous Stanley, who "determined the day on Bosworth Field to Henry VII., though he "came thither to the services of Richard III. These were high hopes, "but what puzzled Mr. Nicholas Monk was that he knew not how to "break this message to his brother." Dr. Price, not a little startled at this want of reserve, took him in hand, reminding him that there were not many about the General who were fit to be trusted with a secret of this nature. But besides recommending extreme caution in his communications with others, he presumed on his intimate knowledge of the General to give some advice as to the best way of proceeding with him. Nicholas had heard of plots, and had come duly furnished with conspirator's tools. He exhibited some broken coins for tokens, and had a plan for the General corresponding with Sir John Grenville as Mr. Legg. Dr. Price could not help smiling at the good man's simple notions, but yet was in a great quandary at finding himself charged with a big secret. After an hour or two's conversation, with the sense of treading on dangerous ground, the two clergymen became more confidential, and refreshed themselves, Dr. Price relates, with a glass of wine and with hopes. Nicholas Monk told him of some old family prophecies that one of the family, grandson of a spendthrift, which his own grandfather had been, was to retrieve the family fortunes, and that the king was to come in by a Monk. Dr. Price adds, "Nor was I without my prophecy, too, "viz., that if the great Confederacy did prosper, we could not expect "much more than a circumscribed and limited king." This is found in his own narrative published 1680. The two conspirators went on to settle their shares of the spoil. Nicholas selected the Provostship of Eton College, and Dr. Price the Fellowship in that foundation formerly held by his intimate friend, "the ever memorable John Hales," who had died three years before, and who is thus described by those who had known him. They both had their wishes to the letter. Dr. Price closes his account of this remarkable conversation with the words, "So much for dividing the bear's skin; now we are to kill the bear."

By this time it was evening, and as the General had appointed, they went to him in the dining-room. Some of the officers from Leith and Edinburgh were still there, and Nicholas had to wait long before all were gone, and the General alone. He immediately entered on his business, communicating not only the king's instructions and promises, but also the names and the movements of the "Confederacy," now engaged to a simultaneous insurrection against

the Rump Parliament all over England. The General asked him many questions about the particular business he had come upon, wishing to know what other persons had been intrusted with the knowledge of it. Nicholas assured him that no other person in England was privy to it beside Sir J. Grenville, and that he had himself communicated it to nobody except Dr. Price. The "thinking, silent" General said no great matter to his brother upon all this discourse, and so they parted for that night. Clarendon says that the General, having found that his brother had blabbed his business to the Chaplain, immediately sent him back to England with imprecations and threats. This is altogether untrue. A time came when the General had to give serious warnings to those about them, and he did it in the rough language he now and then indulged in. But from first to last he was affectionate and respectful to his brother. All things, says Dr. Skinner, were kept so secret, that, during Mr. Monk's continuance for above two months at Dalkeith, it could not be known he had any other business there but to advise with his brother about the matching of his daughter, and to carry her home with him. Dr. Price expressly states this, and adds that whatever rumour there might be in the camp it was all mere suggestion, for Nicholas certainly had not dropped a word to any one, except to himself. Only the spies set on Monk did not fail to send word to their employers in London, that his royalist brother had come, and that he had frequent meetings with the General's lady and with his cavalier chaplain.

The next day, before noon, Nicholas Monk came to Dr. Price's chamber with the glad news that his brother liked the plot, and so much the better because the Presbyterians were concerned in it. Dr. Price adds, "It is not improbable, neither, that he had in the night "been quickened with curtain lectures of damnation, a text that his "lady often preached to him, and he would complain of, if he safely "might." Whether quickened or not, it is certain that the General came to an instant, and almost precipitate decision, on hearing what his brother had to tell him. Hitherto he had not moved at all, though everybody and everything was moving around him. He had even had to bear for some time the gradual displacement of his officers by the Rump Parliament, and its servant, or master, the Council of Officers, which thoroughly distrusted him, and had spies upon him. Parliament, however, had done this so clumsily that it had by these changes produced more hatred and suspicion in the Scotch army than it could possibly counteract by the new appointments made, and the General had so improved the occasion that Parliament was

indeed playing into his hands. But anyhow, action could not be long deferred, and Nicholas urged that now was the time for it, when all England was in motion. Yet neither by word nor deed did General Monk absolutely commit himself to the king on this occasion, or on any other till the work was actually done. Even many months after, when Sir J. Grenville handed to him the king's commission, constituting him commander-in-chief of the royal forces in the British Isles, the General said nothing, but politely handed it back to Sir John. However, it was plain he must move, and the king's promises were a new and important element in the question. It may be that as a man of business, as one who had been treated with perfidy, slight, and ingratitude, both by king and by Parliament, and who really had held possession of Scotland to Cromwell's little liking, and still less to the satisfaction of Cromwell's friends, he would not now stir an inch towards a royal restoration unless he had distinct and specific guarantees, and the means of assuring his friends that their services would be properly recognised. He certainly had to make very large demands on their confidence, and he could trust himself to see that they were not deceived. On the other hand, it is to be considered that Monk's habitual caution and reserve kept him continually bound to a defensive attitude, from which he could not be moved except by some strong or sudden impulse from without. Several times in the course of his marvellous career, when everything seemed to be in his grasp and the world was only waiting for the word of command, he allowed himself to receive that from some one only in the moral sense his equal, and on slight occasion. Again, as he was somewhat over-indifferent to public opinion, caring little what people thought about him, he probably did not realise how much the eyes of the world were fixed upon him, what an important place he had in affairs, and how much was expected from him. Such offers as that which his brother Nicholas now brought from Charles II., though he accepted neither them, nor any other similar offers in the way of a political transaction, could not fail to impress upon him the fact that he was credited with the power of bringing about a restoration, and that he was the only man so regarded. He found himself the object of absolute reliance in Scotland, constant solicitude in England, and unlimited solicitation from Charles. It was not that the people about that prince liked the General, for they did not; or that they entirely trusted him, for they had their suspicions that he was working for himself. Hyde simply hated him. With small share of the gifts that Hyde could appreciate, Monk possessed some

that were far beyond his intelligence. But it was enough that, while he was no more a fine gentleman than Cromwell, and had better grievances against the Crown than Cromwell could have alleged, he had present possession of Scotland, and apparently the reversion of England in his hands. There could be no love in such a case. Hence it was that the royal promises, intended or not for bribery, were to him an emphatic expression of the fact that everything now depended upon him; and if, in the final distribution of rewards, he took his due, as that certainly was no less than right, so also it does not reflect on his original motives. But it would not be common justice to human nature, to the generous instincts sure to be stirred by the meeting of these brothers, or to the universal opinion of that period, to think lightly of Nicholas Monk's simple and earnest appeals to the General's loyalty and patriotism. "Nicholas "Monk," so we read, "omitted nothing of his instructions, but pru- "dently urged them, as may be reasonably inferred from their good "effect. Thus did the sense of allegiance, and the love of his "country, prevail with his brother against all hazards."

Whatever the motives in the General's mind, he now saw that the time was come. He immediately told Dr. Price that he would require his assistance next day, Sunday, in writing a Letter to Parliament, in the name of the Scottish army and its leaders, declaring their intention to support them, but protesting against their assumption of perpetual power, and insisting on a free Parliament. This was only to be obtained by filling up all the vacant seats, by providing general elections at proper intervals, and by securing perfect freedom of election, measures certain to be fatal to the "Juncto." Dr. Price reminded the General, in the presence of Nicholas Monk, that he would be wanted for the Sunday services. The General replied that Dr. Gumble, the Presbyterian chaplain to the Council, should take his place, adding, "Gumble can dissemble much better than you." This might be true, but to readers of this day Gumble's writings, except when they are stating the barest matters of fact, which they are rather chary of, convey scarcely any meaning whatever. He had for some time, however, been dissembling all round. Originally Vicar of Wickham, Bucks, he had become a Presbyterian, and by the influence of Mr. Scot, M.P. for Wickham, he had been made chaplain to the Council in Scotland. The object of the appointment was that he might watch Monk, and report upon his proceedings, down to the details of his private life, and this he did every week. But Monk had won his affections and his confidence, and he had accordingly to satisfy, or if not quite that,

successfully to baffle, his various Scotch acquaintances and his London correspondents. He now took Dr. Price's place, and while the latter was closeted all Sunday with the General, he appears to have prayed with remarkable fervour for success to the General's intentions, without knowing in the least what they were. Price, "very proud," as he expresses it, "to find himself a Secretary of State," was concocting, with the General, a Letter to Parliament, of the tenor above described, and warning them not to expect to govern the country as if it were their own. His published work is a sufficient proof of his capacity for assisting the General in drawing up the Letter.

After evening sermon, General Monk collected his brother Nicholas, Dr. Barrow, principal physician to the army, Dr. Gumble and Adjutant Smith, at Dr. Price's chamber, and there administered to them all successively on the Bible, the following oath of secrecy: "You shall truly swear that you will not reveal anything that shall "be discoursed of by us, or read unto you, without the consent of "all here present." The Letter to Parliament was then read, and signed by all present, Dr. Gumble only muttering his surprise that this was done after Nicholas Monk's arrival, when it might have been done as well before. They also severally undertook to procure signatures from such other officers in the army as were most likely to comply with their design. But they were to be "petitioners," Dr. Price expresses it, "with swords in their hands." Accordingly, the General gave immediate orders to Adjutant Smith to go that night to Edinburgh and treat with the governor for the security of the castle, and thence to pass on to Leith, to insure the officers in command of the citadel there; "which," to quote Dr. Skinner's narrative, "being the sum of what was resolved on that night, the General left "them, and went down stairs, being always accustomed to advise "privately with his own thoughts, as well as with those about him. "But before Adjutant Smith was ready to take horse, he returned "into the chamber again, and told them, that, upon better considera-"tion, he thought it most secure for them to arrest their further "proceedings till the return of the next post, which would give "them a clearer prospect of the affairs of England, and thereby "they might shape their own way the better; that by the next "letters they should know more perfectly how near Lambert was "advanced, what force was joined to Sir George Booth, and whether "any other parties were risen in England to give diversion. This "was so adviseably put by the General that they all consented to it, "and so parted for the night; only Dr. Price, who had a particular "zeal for any enterprise that might determine in the king's service,

"presently after sought out the General, whom he found discoursing "with Gradeen Ker, a valiant Scot, that had formerly served under "the Marquess of Montrose, and was also an expert greyhound "master, which, being a diversion the General most delighted in, "it led him often both to his acquaintance and his favour. Having "ended his conference with him, Dr. Price approached the General "with some earnestness, telling him they had entered upon their "design somewhat too late already, and that he feared all further "delay would make it worse. 'Your brother only came at the latest,' "he added. To whom the General replied with some passion, 'Our "'business can receive no prejudice by attending till the arrival of "'the next post; and would you needs be so hasty as to bring my "'neck to the block for the king, and ruin the whole design by a too "'forward and unreasonable declaring." Adjutant Smith, all but in the saddle, had been countermanded.

The next morning, the post arriving six hours earlier than usual, brought news of the utter defeat of Sir George Booth, which, so far from disconcerting the General, gave him a double satisfaction. He felt that if he had moved before the news, he would have shared the discredit of an ill-managed and unsuccessful insurrection, and also, that his game was much better than before, now that Lambert had beaten Booth. This defeat, he said, would raise an extreme confidence both in the Juncto and in the army. He knew Lambert well. The man would be so elated with his little victory, he observed to Dr. Price, and would make himself so unbearable to his masters, that Parliament would have to fall back on himself to deliver them. "Take my word," he said, "Lambert won't let those people sit at Westminster till Christmas Day." So again convincing his brother and the rest, with these explanations, he burnt, in their presence, the Letter written the day before, conjuring them all to be faithful to their oath of secresy. The General had immediately to take his part in public rejoicings, a thanksgiving day, and a grand banquet, at which were zealous Republicans, Anabaptists, and Quakers, full of joy at this "not ordinary mercy." One Captain Toole, a young officer, proposing that all the company present should pledge themselves to dispose summarily of all steeple houses and steeple clergy, the General replied, "If you come to pluck there, I will pluck with you." It was cheerfully debated whether a man who had once repeated over again the same words of prayer could possibly escape eternal damnation. On a set being made upon the General to compromise him, he exclaimed with some energy, "that he wished Parliament could make a law that whoever mentioned

bringing back Charles Stuart should be hanged." This was only of a piece with his telling his brother Nicholas he would have to hang him if he found him talking about a restoration to the officers in his army. No doubt he did not want anybody to talk about it. He was, too, beset on every side by persons who would not hesitate to make an ill-use of his slightest word. It was a little before the arrival of Nicholas, that on being asked by Colonel Atkins not to move against Sir J. Booth and the Royalist confederates, he replied, "If they take arms, I shall send a force against them; by duty of my place I can do no less." All now depended on the mutual bearing of Parliament and the Army in England, represented by the Council of Officers. They might have secured their position, confiscated the estates of all the Confederacy, and got thereby money enough for the payment of their debts, and for clearing the long-standing arrears of soldiers' pay. Instead of their doing this, each in its own way sat "towering" and "pluming" itself while they were too well acquainted with one another's ambitious aims and dishonest practices to trust one another for a united policy. Finding that he must obtain Monk's support, or, if not, get him into his power, Lambert tried to "wheedle" him with a promise of the command of the infantry in England. This was in private. What mattered more was that under Lambert's instigation the Army in England now afforded Monk an opportunity of reasserting his confidence in Parliament, and so meeting the reports current against him. It wanted him and his officers to subscribe a declaration positively hostile to Parliament, which the General would neither do himself nor allow his officers to do.

But though both the Rump Parliament and Lambert were playing into his hands, the General had still too much cause to be anxious about his position. On the one hand, he had now reverted, in his public acts, to an absolute support of Parliament, as the only thing to be done under the circumstances. His two landmarks of policy for the present were: "That the Government could not be supported but by an entire subjection of the military power in obedience to the civil;" the other, "That the present constitution of the Commonwealth was to be administered by Parliament." In view of the present emergency he had for some time been collecting money and storing the magazines. He saw that whatever happened he would soon have to turn his face southwards. On the other hand, he had entered into a secret engagement with his brother, his two chaplains, and two others, so to work on Parliament as to force it to a restoration. What if any of these gentlemen should tell what they

were full of? What if Nicholas should tell all to his cousin, Sir J. Grenville, and Sir John, as in duty bound to Charles, and Charles to the careless young people about him? In that case all London would soon know everything. So he now gave Nicholas as well as the rest to understand that he had given up all hope of a restoration. He had been so much out of England, he said, and so long engaged on different sides from the Grenvilles, that he could not be sure that Sir John was a person of sufficient ability and secrecy. As to his brother Nicholas, he looked upon an employment of this nature and intricacy as altogether foreign and unsuitable to a private clergyman that had been bred up among his books, and in retirement. The design of restoring the king by plots and insurrections he had always esteemed but as toys that would come to nothing, where raw and inexperienced soldiers were to encounter regiments that had been long used to arms and victory. Dr. Skinner adds that the General could not quite get over the fact of Nicholas having revealed his message to the chaplain, nor yet the awkwardness of his bringing it only by word of mouth, leaving the king's letter behind; and he observes that the sight of the letter some months after seemed to work more wonders than the report of it. But this is putting the change of circumstances out of account. Dr. Skinner having to relate in the same passage, and in the same words, what the General felt himself, and what he thought it best to say, fails of his own usual clearness. However, the General certainly told his brother he was not the man for politics, and had better go home to his parish and his studies, and mind his spiritual duties. He was also to tell Sir John not to meddle any more in such dangerous adventures, but go home and look after his estate. Conjuring Nicholas to entire secrecy, he said with much vehemence, "That if ever this business were discovered by him or Sir John Grenville, he would do the best he could to ruin them both." Nicholas, however, remained at Dalkeith, and, to divert suspicion, Dr. Gumble was brought out and instructed to preach and talk in favour of the authority of Parliament. This he did with so much energy that he got the credit of all the General did; and even after the march southward, there prevailed in London a belief that Dr. Gumble was at the bottom of that movement. Dr. Price, of course, was under orders to keep quiet. "I shall not employ you in any part of my business," the General said; "and don't take it amiss, for you know not these people as well as I do, and cannot dissemble with them." As Guizot observes, Gumble was proud of his importance, and Price did not complain of his inactivity.

But all that Monk seemed to be doing for Parliament, it set down to the terror inspired by the break-up of the Confederacy. To secure the advance it thought it had got in Scotland, it proceeded with the substitution of its own partizans for Monk's old officers. Whatever the intention, therefore, it was not without a just cause, and it certainly tended to allay the suspicions of Parliament, that about this time, that is while Nicholas Monk was still at Dalkeith, the General wrote a letter to Lenthall the Speaker, pleading his increasing years, and his weariness with public life, and asking to be relieved of his command. Commissary Clarges was to hand the letter to Lenthall, to be read to Parliament at his discretion; but the Commissary was so to back the prayer of the letter, that Lenthall would hold it back, divulging only the contents. This answered the purpose. The General was privately urged to retain his command, and Parliament came to the conclusion that if he had ever possessed other hopes, the fate of the Confederacy had led him to abandon them.

Every day was now working for him, Parliament and the Army, that is the Council of Officers, being engaged in destroying one another. The latter set about deliberately to teach Parliament its duty, and to advise it on the choice of officers, and expenditure, for which last it had the excuse that while Parliament spent freely in some matters, it had left the pay of the soldiers in England much in arrears. This was all the more aggravating, in that Monk's 12,000 soldiers in Scotland had always been paid from England without fail or delay. From the commencement of his long military career, Monk had made it a rule that his men should be well cared for. Thus, early in October the inevitable feud was ripening fast, and it had become evident that England would soon have to choose between a civil and a military master.

After a pleasant stay of two months at Dalkeith, about October 8, General Monk dismissed his brother and niece "with a very particular kindness." Dr. Price, who had acquired a great esteem for Nicholas Monk, accompanied him and his daughter to the shore at Leith, and saw them embark for London, where they arrived in four days. The General had given Nicholas a letter—or a verbal message, as it is variously described—which, after communication with Commissary Clarges, he was to give to Parliament. He immediately found out his cousin Sir John Grenville, who, now that the Confederacy was dispersed, felt very anxious to learn who had been taken into the secret of the business on which he had gone to Scotland. Nicholas told him a good deal of what had passed

between him and the General. As he had to give a definite answer to the king's letter delivered by his own word of mouth, it was that the General was so much affected by the defeat of Booth that he had enjoined him to observe the strictest silence about the whole affair. He was bound to tell Sir John, and did tell him, that he had taken an oath of secrecy, on the matter of which he desired not to be questioned. What he did tell, therefore, and what he did not, cannot be known. Sir John immediately sent the king and Hyde an account of his conversation with Nicholas Monk, and the result was that the king gave up the thought of an early return to England.

The same evening Nicholas went to Commissary Clarges and gave him the General's message to Parliament. It was, that if the Army in London continued in its disobedience towards them, he would assist them therein, and that if things should run into further extremity, he would be in readiness to march his army into England for their defence. This message was delivered to the leading members of Parliament next morning, and, finding them in a state of helpless irritation and perplexity at Lambert's insolent behaviour, led to a disastrous result. Forgetting that General Monk was four hundred miles off, Parliament immediately took courage to assert itself the only Government of the country, in military as well as civil affairs, and to supersede Lambert and his colleagues with officers of their own party, including Monk. The chief prompter of this rash act was that impetuous Republican, Sir Arthur Hazlerig; and the only representative of executive authority Parliament could show was the aged, and not very commanding, figure of Speaker Lenthall, Richard Cromwell being now off the scene. It could hardly then be expected that Lambert, at the head of the Army, and with a large force under his immediate command, would take this quietly; nor did he. The night was spent in rival preparations. Parliament and the Speaker had "life-guards," and some other forces were available; but there does not appear to have been a real officer, perhaps not many real soldiers, amongst them. The sun rose on two regiments of foot, and two troops of horse massed about Parliament House, in King Street, and Palace Yard, which Lambert was surrounding with a cordon of 3,000 good soldiers, well under his orders, and shutting from communication with the outer world. Members of Parliament breakfasted early in those days; and now as they hurried to the House, they were turned back by Lambert's soldiers. He had taken particular care to occupy all the routes between the City and West-

minster. The rival armies had no wish to come to blows; and when they were told that the Council was sitting, and that their respective leaders were angrily debating the future government of the nation, they quietly waited for orders. The debate ended in the submission of the Rump Parliament, leaving Lambert in possession, whereupon he withdrew his own forces, while the Parliamentary forces, having no orders at all, stood at their posts till starved out by cold and hunger late at night, when they went home amid the jeers of Lambert's adherents. As soon as they were gone, Fleetwood, who had probably done all the military part of this affair, seized the vacant posts, and effectually prevented the re-assembling of Parliament. Lambert and his allies in the Council had promised, and perhaps intended, a new Parliament, if they could get one elected quite to their mind; but meanwhile, for the government of the country, they created a mixed body of officers and civilians, calling it a Committee of Safety. Fleetwood was now General, that is, Commander-in-chief, of the Army, and Lambert Lieutenant-General; the latter being better content to place himself nominally under the orders of his rival, than to see him winning honours in the field.

All this was very much as General Monk had expected, for he knew that while Parliament had, under existing circumstances, the better right on its side, Lambert had the power. In conduct and in skill he felt himself a match for both, and only wished to see one Parliament succeed another, till it should rest entirely with himself to do what was best for the country. It cannot be doubted that he had now made up his mind that the best thing, if possible, would be a royal restoration, though for the present that was in reserve. He immediately took proper steps to secure Scotland, and to collect forces and stores for a march to the south. He had, however, to declare himself to Parliament, now shut out of Westminster. This he did in a letter to Lenthall, the Speaker, in which he says, "I do call God to witness that the asserting of a "Commonwealth is the only intent of my heart; and I desire, if "possible, to avoid the shedding of blood. But if the Army will "not obey your commands, I will not desert you, according to my "duty and promise." This may seem incompatible with what has been related above, but the truth is, General Monk was not a man to intend what was not possible, and thus far he did not see the possibility of restoring the Stuarts.

The Restoration is the series of negociations, military operations, incidents and events, from October 17, 1659, to May 29, 1660—seven months and a half. For various reasons it has never been presented, as it deserves to be, before the ordinary reader of history; the most picturesque part of it, viz., the march from Coldstream to London, hardly at all. Hyde was out of England at the time, and when he returned, he was too absorbed in other matters to give it serious attention, even if he could have brought himself to do justice to a story in which Monk was everything, and himself nothing. Dr. Gumble's account of it was the first that came out, and it is little better than an incoherent rhapsody. Dr. Price's was written some years after, when he felt he had reason to remind the Duke of Albemarle of his services. The history of the Restoration included in the Life of General Monk, by Thomas Skinner, M.D., has been already referred to and quoted. This writer, of St. John's College, Oxford, originally of Cambridge, had the best opportunities; for, besides his acquaintance with many other persons concerned in public affairs, he was for some years a near neighbour of the Duke of Albemarle at his seat in Essex, and his physician. His book has a singular history. He published it in 1676, in Latin, with the title *Motus Compositi*, as the third part of a work entitled *Elenchus Motuum*, by Dr. Bate, published at Paris, 1649. It was translated into English—not well, Anthony Wood says—by a gentleman "living by scribbling," 1685, and again published in English by a well-known writer, Mr. Webster, curate of St. Dunstan's in the West, 1723, when Rapin, now in his mortal illness, was engaged upon the same period. This gentleman states that his version is from a M.S. which there was every reason to believe was in Skinner's own writing. He dedicates it with much ceremony, and a long preface, to the Countess Granville and John Lord Gower, as related to Sir R. Granville, and thereby connected with Monk. Tindal, Rapin's translator, writing in 1730, quotes Skinner several times in apparent correction of some details in Rapin's text; and he quotes from Mr. Webster's version, which had then gone to a second edition. There is an abundance of materials from which these authorities could be illustrated, for from the time Monk began to move till the actual arrival of Charles II. the whole island was on fire, so to say, with manifestos and pamphlets. But the reign of Charles II. was not one for retrospection. There was immediately so much to be done, that one of our chief diplomatists of that time said Monk earned his title and estate for his services after the Restoration, even if he

had had no hand in bringing that about. The monarchy, and all its institutions, had in a manner to be founded again, after a virtual suspension of near twenty years. The Act of Uniformity, war with the Dutch, the Plague, the Fire of London, the war with the Dutch again, the disgrace and banishment of Lord Clarendon, and the death of the Duke of Albemarle, are only some of the events in the first ten years of Charles's reign. The history of the Restoration, therefore, remains to be written for the English reader. All that can be done here is to select a few passages, chiefly from the least known portion, the march to London, with a narrative sufficient to connect and explain them.

The news of the revolution in London arrived at Dalkeith on October 17, and very early the next morning Monk marched into Edinburgh and announced to the assembled forces his intention of hastening to the relief of Parliament. But besides making sure of Scotland and raising both money and supplies, he had to deal with foes in and out of the camp, and enter into an interchange of letters with many various parties. He had about 12,000 men under him. His strength lay in his foot soldiers, which he had made the best in the world. But most of his officers were sure to side with Lambert and the English Independents at the first opportunity; indeed many had been put upon Monk by the Council of Officers in London, all Independents. There were also not a few Presbyterians who could not be trusted. So Monk had to cashier one hundred and forty officers. They took it quietly at first. About half his army he distributed over Scotland; with the other half he prepared to march. He had now before him—the Juncto, or Rump Parliament, shut out of Westminster, and hovering round it the "secluded members" shut out long before; the House of Lords shut out of their House by the same operation as the secluded members of the Lower House; the Presbyterians, who now wished the king back, but hoped to make at least as good terms with him as his father had conceded at Newport in his extremity; the English army, under Lambert and his generally Independent officers, counting on the support of the Scotch army, with or without its General, and expecting to govern England without a Parliament; the city of London, chiefly Presbyterian; the fleet riding in the Downs; the Royalists, whose one idea was the immediate proclamation of Charles II. by the country gentlemen everywhere; and a multitude of smaller parties and individual leaders negociating severally on their own accounts, and dreading most of all to play into one another's hands. This was

an imposing mass of antagonism, but it had no consistency. There was one party which was not there, and that was the British people, no longer represented in either Parliament, or the Army, or by any of the leading politicians. The components of this motley group received a further modification from their national incidents; but as Monk had got on equally well with Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, he had no difficulty here.

As everything was now believed to turn on Monk, so every day he was receiving letters, messengers, and deputations, which he had to reply to by word, or letter, or messenger. There were always a score or two of these little embassies on the road between London and Scotland, crossing one another, encountering one another, overtaking one another, stopping short, arrested against their will. All had for their avowed object something very plausible, and grandly expressed; but all had also secret instructions, and letters addressed to spies and associates, adverse to the ostensible object of the mission. All were also charged to seduce, corrupt, and threaten the officers and others of the party they were sent to. As everybody, except the Royalists, was playing the same game, there was hardly any concealment. Private men, especially they of the self-complacent middle classes, are apt to think diplomacy and finesse the special sin of the high-born, the well-bred, and the subtle; but on this single occasion in which diplomacy has been abandoned to the middle classes they have shown themselves behind none in all the practices which have given it a bad name. Monk had to create a board of officers, whose business it should be to prepare the correspondence for such time as he could give to it. In London he had an able coadjutor in Commissary Clarges, his wife's brother, who managed to keep in with all the parties there while he was betraying their secrets to his brother-in-law.

As soon as the Council of Officers at Wallingford House, the head-quarters of the new Government, heard of Monk's declarations and movements, they despatched Lambert, with half the regular army in England, to the north, to fight Monk, if necessary; but, if possible, to dispose of him without fighting. At the same time they sent Colonel Cobbet to join his regiment at Edinburgh, with a secret commission to flatter Monk and to seduce his soldiers; but Clarges had been beforehand with him, and upon the Colonel commencing the latter part of his work at Berwick, which Monk had just before secured, he was taken prisoner and sent to Edinburgh Castle. Monk made an attempt to secure Newcastle, but Colonel Lilburn had got the start of him on behalf of Lambert, and Monk

thereby escaped the inevitable result that Newcastle would have been besieged and captured by Lambert before he could have come to its relief. Fleetwood, and the Council of Officers, then sent Col. Talbot and, of all men, Commissary Clarges on a triple commission. Ostensibly they were to invite Monk to a Treaty between the two armies. Under that pretext they were to try for a secret understanding between Monk and Fleetwood, with a view to ridding the latter of Lambert; failing that, they were to undermine Monk in Scotland, and damage him anyhow. Besides these three objects, Clarges had his own, which was to reveal all the rest to Monk, and so put him on his guard. Under his advice Monk consented to a negociation for a Treaty, so to gain time. He drew up a Treaty, and sent it to London by his own commissioners, instructing them privately to prolong the negociation indefinitely, and come to no settlement. On their way they fell in with Lambert at York, and he tried to persuade them that he had authority to treat with them; but they went on to London.

Lambert, who was ruining himself and his cause by his jealousy of Fleetwood, and who now saw, as he thought, an impending alliance between Fleetwood and Monk, immediately sent a friendly message to Monk with a view to a separate negociation. For this purpose, so important did he consider it, he sent the best man in his army, and one whom in fact he could but ill spare, being himself no great general. This was Major-General Morgan, who, besides betraying his master to Monk, conveyed privately a letter from Lord Fairfax asking Monk to declare for a free Parliament, and for the "secluded members,"—inevitable ruin of course to Lambert and his party. Arriving at Edinburgh, Major-General Morgan dropped Lambert's commission altogether, attached himself to Monk, and proved of the greatest service in organising his army, which by this time was suffering much from the want of officers. Fleetwood now tried a secret negociation on his own account, apart from his Council of Officers, but was not happy in his agent. It was a Mr. Dean, one of the army treasurers, who immediately went about distributing tracts to seduce Monk's soldiers, but to no purpose. At Monk's own table he told him he was trying to bring back Charles Stuart, or was doing it in effect, whatever his intentions might be. Passing by a foot company in Edinburgh, he said to them, "My Lord Lambert is coming up with such a force as all General Monk's army will scarce make one breakfast for him." But a stout soldier returned this surly answer, "That the cold weather had gotten Lambert a

very good stomach if he could eat their swords and pikes, and swallow their bullets." The General soon sent Mr. Dean about his business. Clarges and Talbot now returned southward. The latter fell in with Lambert, and stayed with him. The former conveyed Monk's private letters to Fairfax at York, and to various other friends in London. What answer he brought from Monk to those who had sent him does not appear to have mattered much. The Independent Congregations having been appealed to by Monk himself, generally answered independently of one another; but some of them combined to send an important embassy, composed of two famous preachers and two colonels. The two former were to preach to Monk's army, which they did. The two latter, under the guidance of a north country preacher picked up on the way, and being honourably entertained by Monk at his head-quarters, went about practising on the inferior officers. "They and Mr. Hammond were much accused for several very ill contrivances during their residence there." Under continual encouragement from England, the officers who had left Monk, or whom he had dismissed, now began to make themselves troublesome at Edinburgh and elsewhere, holding meetings, and trying to raise seditions and mutinies. Monk immediately ordered them all out of Scotland, telling those that asked for their arrears of pay to go to Lambert for that, as they had now chosen him for their master, and had been doing his work. As the best remedy against these attempts on the loyalty of his troops, Monk now directed his attention to the choice of perfectly trustworthy serjeants and corporals; and had pamphlets, pasquils, and dialogues printed, stating the case between a soldier of the Scotch army and another of the South, which these officers read to the soldiers, particularly upon the guards, discussing the matter more easily than their superior officers could have done.

But now came Monk's great mishap. His two Commissioners to the Committee of Safety for a Treaty between the two armies "arrived in London, Nov. 12, and, with more ceremony than kind-"ness, were received at Wallingford House by such officers as were "appointed by Lieut.-General Fleetwood to confer with them. Here "they were so continually caressed with the attendance and respect "of the officers, that they had no opportunity to pursue their secret "instructions, in procuring intelligence from the city, or the late "excluded members; nor scarce freedom enough to deliberate pri-"vately among themselves upon the articles proposed to them. "And every day there were shown to them letters of intelligence "from the north (most of which were framed in London), informing

"them of the continual and daily revolt of General Monk's forces "from him; and so alarmed the Commissioners that they were "afraid, at this rate, within a little time their General would not "be worth treating with. And therefore, instead of pursuing their "private instructions by artificial delays, within three days after they "arrived they consented to an agreement, signed by them November "15, which was comprehended in nine such wild and extravagant "articles, as any one of them had been sufficient to have ruined "General Monk's designs." One of these articles would have pledged Monk against the return of the Stuarts; and another was a species of amnesty so artfully expressed, that it would have brought back all the Independents and their fellow-partizans to the offices and posts from which they might have been dismissed, while continuing to exclude the Presbyterians and others on Monk's side. Lambert's Committee of Safety had the cunning to send the Treaty as soon as signed, not by the Commissioners themselves, whom they kept in town, but by messengers of their own; who were to take care that the contents of the Treaty should be known all over Scotland before they handed the document to Monk himself. He saw, however, at a glance what had been done, went early the next day to Edinburgh, where the Terms of the Treaty had already been published, summoned a meeting, and publicly repudiated the Treaty on the ground that the Commissioners had gone beyond their instructions. And so, not without a certain awkwardness, he escaped from the snare. However, he wrote to Fleetwood, civilly asking for explanations, and still holding out the prospect of a Treaty. He now ordered the advance of his army towards the Borders, himself marching here and there to take account of his forces. Of his visit to Dunbar, Skinner observes, "Here he viewed "those hills where he had raised the first of those trophies in "Scotland, when, well nigh ten years before, on September 3, he "opened the way for the conquest of the country, by that memorable "and fatal overthrow of the Covenanters."

About the end of November, Monk took up his head-quarters at Berwick, his immediate object being to keep a look-out on the movements of Lambert, who had arrived a few days before at Newcastle with a much larger army. In that gallant army there were two fatal defects; the soldiers had no money, and the General had no authority. But its neighbourhood told at first unfavourably on Monk's people. His Anabaptists, chiefly mounted, stole away to join their co-religionists. Some were overtaken and unhorsed, when foot soldiers were found glad to buy boots with their own money,

and fill the vacant saddles. For a week or ten days the two armies watched one another, not yet at war, indeed never at war, as the event proved. It had now been proclaimed and preached upon in every town in the island that Monk had refused to come to terms with Fleetwood and his Council of Officers—that is, the actual Government in London. Monk was on the Tweed, with his face turned southward; and he was a general that had never yet given up an enterprise, or been beaten. The Juncto took courage; the old Council of State met again, and wrote kindly and confidingly to Monk. Fleetwood and his Council were in great disgust at Monk having made short work of the Treaty, insomuch that the unhappy Commissioners were glad to get out of their hands, even if it was to face Monk after the mess they had made. The army at Newcastle was falling into disorder. "These soldiers of Lam-"bert were a sort of pampered and delicate companions, that for a "long time had known no hardship, but lived at ease in the English "quarters, having nothing else to do but to eat the fat of the "land, and to continue the nation's slavery. But now these cold "counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, among a coarse and "hardy kind of people, made them as weary of their quarters as "they were of the war." So Lambert had again recourse to direct negociation with Monk, sending Commissioners to proceed on the lines of the alleged Treaty; no change, however, to be made, except in Lambert's favour. Monk's Council of Officers replied for him that they would honestly stand by the Treaty as far as it had been drawn up in conformity with the instructions, not farther. Lambert also demanded the liberation of Colonel Cobbet as a public messenger, invoking on his behalf the usages of war. The answer was that the Colonel had no business in Scotland at all, Parliament having vacated his commission before it had been itself disturbed by Lambert.

While Lambert's Commissioner, Colonel Zanchy, was still at Monk's head-quarters, December 7, news came that a party of Lambert's horse and dragoons were broke into Northumberland, and had surprised Chillingham Castle. They were in so great a strait for money that they made this incursion partly in hopes to seize the Lord Grey's Rents, which they might easily have done, but that the bird was flown before they had spread their nets. As it had been agreed there should be no hostilities pending the negociation of a Treaty, General Monk ordered Colonel Zanchy to be secured, in order to obtain satisfaction for this outrage. "And now Zanchy, instead of procuring Cobbet's liberty, lost his own." However, he

was not detained many days. As soon as it answered Monk's purpose, he was sent back to Lambert with the promise "that he would speedily send him his further resolution in order to the Treaty."

"Hitherto," says Skinner, "we have attended the movements "of our General from his first head-quarters at Dalkeith to his "second at Edinburgh, then to his third at Berwick; and we are "now following him to his fourth and last head-quarters at Cold-"stream. About two o'clock in the early morning after the above "intelligence, on December 8, the General was mounted at Berwick, "intending to visit the passes over the Tweed in his way to his "new quarters. But besides the badness of the way, the weather "proving very tempestuous, he was enforced for a few hours to put "in at the pass at Norham, and about noon arrived at Coldstream, "being nine miles from Berwick, where there was in readiness only "one regiment of foot for his guards and attendance. This, as "most bordering towns, was a very poor and despicable place, and "so destitute of provisions, that for the first night the General "had to entertain himself with the chewing of tobacco, instead of "supper, till he was the next day better supplied with provisions "from Berwick. The house that was assigned for his head-quarters "had not a room in it of tolerable reception for one of his serjeants, "so that he was to eat and sleep in the same chamber. To this "*prætorium*, made of a cottage, were adjoining two barns, whereof "one was taken up by his sutlers for his pantry, and the other "served for his chapel. But this miserable town was furnished with "the most commodious pass for the march of his army across the "Tweed, for which reason he chose it, and was very well-contented "with all the other inconveniences. It was well placed as a "central point to all the neighbouring villages, where his forces "all lay quartered about him, so that in four hours' time he "could have drawn them all into a body upon any sudden occasion "or alarm."

Had his opponent been anything of a general, Monk was now in a position of great danger. Lambert's army was much superior, and, in the case of actual hostilities, there were large forces in Scotland and in Ireland that were bound to come to his aid, and ready to do so. The whole country was in suspense, waiting to see which would strike the first blow, and for the most part it was not likely to offer much opposition to the winning side. After all that Monk had done he was still very unprepared. His army was not yet officered, except that he knew he could trust his serjeants

and corporals, for they were picked men and knew their business. For three memorable weeks the two armies waited for one another at no very great distance, for Lambert's dragoons had quartered themselves all about Northumberland. Monk still dangled the Treaty before Lambert's eyes, and Lambert still thought he could work it in his own favour. All England, Scotland, and Ireland were duly informed of the state of affairs from day to day, and very soon made their election. The Scotch nobility took the lead. A sort of Parliament, summoned at Berwick, not only granted Monk a considerable sum, to be raised by taxes, but also offered 7,500 men. The General wanted them sadly, particularly the horse, but resolved to do without them. He did not know what the English would say to a Scotch invasion; every day was precious; and it would take time to get the new troops into good order and well in hand. There came now fresh offers from Lord Fairfax. The gentry and soldiery of Yorkshire were anxious to declare for Monk, not without some forecast of what was to follow; and as for his Lordship himself, he was particularly desirous to attack Lambert's rear as soon as he should advance upon Monk. In this way he hoped "to recover that honour in pursuing the army, which, when he was their general, he had lost by leading it." By the same messengers that brought these offers, Monk had such an account of the factions and disorders in the city of London, the Apprentices as usual leading the way, that he resolved to let the Treaty go. By the middle of December there was no need of any "artifice" to obtain delay, for the elements did it. The weather kept Lambert's saucy soldiers to their "hard meat" and uncomfortable quarters. "There was "abundance of snow, and a most severe frost, which lasted for many "weeks, so that, in an uneven and hilly country covered with ice, "Lambert's horse, wherein was his strength, could neither march "nor fight; and there being now more than forty miles of snow "and precipice between them, General Monk's quarters were as "secure from Lambert's army as if the Atlantic sea had divided "them. He was also so well-informed concerning their condition "that he very well knew their money melted faster than the snow, "and would therefore compel them to break before the weather."

Every post brought fresh news from London. The Fleet riding in the Downs had declared for Parliament, as, too, the garrison at Portsmouth. The Committee of Safety, Lambert's creation, sent troops to reduce Portsmouth; but they declared for Parliament, and joined the refractory garrison. Lambert was now in great distress, losing heart and temper also. Monk had used him very ill, he

complained to one of the General's messengers who called on him on his way to London. But he did more than complain, for he told the messenger in a pet he need not go to London, and sent him back in double quick time to Coldstream, where he arrives laden with welcome intelligence from Newcastle and from the Metropolis. Besides other news, he had now to tell Monk that the Fleet was coming up the Thames to stop the trade of London, unless the Committee of Safety allowed Parliament to meet again. And now there came news from Ireland that the army there had declared for Parliament. From various other points news came that forces were actually marching upon London, to reinstate Parliament. But the worst of all defections from Lambert were those in his own army. His men had their relations, whether private or religious, with all the other parties revolting to Parliament, and they began to desert, or to show themselves refractory. Lambert now concluded that the only chance left for him was to break up his quarters at Newcastle, before worse happened, and march to London, for which he had fifty miles start of Monk, besides double or more the number of mounted troops. Just then, hardly expecting this move, and fuller of pursuing than of being pursued, Fairfax had openly declared for Parliament, and was in arms; so that Lambert's army, if it only held together and kept on its way, would soon be down upon the Yorkshire squires and their tenantry; veterans upon raw recruits. Monk was bound to hasten to the support of Fairfax, and he did. On the very point of moving, he received the unexpected and embarrassing news that Fleetwood had dropped the reins. He and his Committee of Safety, terrified by the universal defection, and the impossibility of raising either money or men, had submitted to Parliament, which of course no longer required Monk's assistance. His ostensible occupation was gone. His danger was greater; for the new governing body, in the interest of Parliament, would organize and officer the English army on more comprehensive principles, and would also be able to pay it better than it had been paid lately. Had Lambert, the fanatic, been in London, and Fleetwood, the better soldier, been at Newcastle, it might have gone hard with Monk. But the truth was Lambert was an aspirant for Cromwell's place, and was too jealous of Fleetwood to put the army in his hands.

Monk had now no other plea for marching to London than to oblige Parliament to fill its number, and just at this moment there was no time for declarations. On New Year's Eve, that is December 31, 1659, he prepared to cross the British Rubicon; no one about

him knowing what he intended, possibly not himself, yet under existing circumstances bound to proceed. "The General had a very "tender concern for the Lord Fairfax and his party, who had so "generously declared for him, and knowing how unable they were "alone to deal with Lambert's army, he was resolved to march to "their safety, and to fall upon the rear before he should be able "to engage them. To that end, having drawn his forces together, "he commanded their march over the Tweed." He had already sent his wife and son by sea to London, there to await him. It was on one of the last nights of the year that the time-honoured apparition presented itself, this time in substantial form. The General was always a bad sleeper; indeed, he seems hardly to have allowed himself any set time for sleep, or to have slept otherwise than watchful animals are said to do. All the people about him were now greatly puzzled how to fit in his movements with the strange nature of the political crisis. "Among the rest, his chap- "lain, Dr. Price, having no opportunity in the daytime of private "access to him, took occasion, by the help of a corporal who that "night commanded the guards, to enter his chamber about two in the "morning, where he found the door only latched; and the General, "being weary of his narrow, uneasy lodging in his bed, was sleeping "in his cloaths, having laid himself down on a form, and resting "his head on the side of the bed, with a fire and light in the "room. At his approach, the General, who was never a sound "sleeper, presently awaked, and entered into much secret discourse "with him; who freely represented to him how much his obligation "and safety were equally concerned in complying with the desires "of the better part of the nation, by endeavouring this settlement "according to the ancient and known laws. To which the General "replied that he very well knew what he would have, nor should "he be wanting therein, so soon as he should find himself in a "capacity of effecting it, of which he had now somewhat more "hopes than formerly. And then, kindly taking him by the hand, "very solemnly and devoutly told him: By God's grace I will do "'it.' His chaplain then took the boldness to let him know how "much he had disobliged a great part of the nation, and contracted "his own interest into a narrower compass, by declaring so strictly "for the Parliament as it sat, October 11. To this the General "answered with some earnestness, 'You see what people they are "'who are now about me, by whose advice and discretion several "'things are transacted and written. There are jealousies enough "'upon me already, and the least appearance of any dislike would

"'make them greater.' But though, as he told him, he had been "passive in allowing some proceedings, yet he was resolved not "to act by them. This put an end to the discourse; and his "chaplain, craving pardon for this interruption upon him, left him "to the remaining part of his repose." Skinner justly observes that this and like passages go to show that Monk did not, as slanderously supposed, govern his resolutions by the events that fell in his way; but that he rather endeavoured to bind and incline those events to a compliance with his own resolution.

On New Year's Day, 1659-60, Monk sent over the infantry, following the next day with his regiment of horse. Late that very night he received a short letter from the Speaker, informing him of the return of the Parliament to Westminster, and thanking him for his services; but not a word of order for his march to them. This was not pleasant, but Monk kept that to himself. He would now have to deal with Parliament and Army together. "But that "the Juncto might be told how welcome their letters were to "him, he commanded they should be read next morning at the "head of the regiments, being drawn up in the snow; and to keep "themselves warm, they made loud acclamations for the restoration "of their masters, resolving that they should march onwards, and "have the satisfaction to see them in their seats."

In two days the General was at Morpeth receiving the High Sheriff and gentry of Northumberland; also sword-bearers from Newcastle, and from the City of London; the latter expressing a desire for a full Parliament, with some reason, the City of London not having a single member in that now existing. Thence to Newcastle in a day. Lambert had received news from his friends in London that they had submitted to Parliament, and Parliament had ordered him up to London, no doubt now wishing him to get there before Monk. But as soon as Lambert's soldiers heard of the submission, they broke up and dispersed, leaving him almost alone. Indeed they had entertained some idea of making him prisoner, and sending him up as a peace-offering to Parliament.

As Fairfax was now in no danger, Monk rested his soldiers three days at Newcastle, and wrote letters to the City of London, to the Speaker, to the Council of State, to his fellow-Commissioners for the command of the army, and to Fairfax. He did not choose to have his policy dictated to him by the City of London, so he confined himself to expressions of respect for that body, and sent Parliament a copy of both their letter and his reply, that it might see he had no underhand dealings with the City. These letters he

despatched by Dr. Gumble, who was particularly known and trusted by Scot and the ruling faction in the House, and who would therefore best remove their suspicion of some ulterior design. At Durham, Monk heard that Fairfax had been received into York, but that he had a fit of the gout which obliged him to return to Nun-Appleton. Here, too, he sent to Ireland to secure various parties there in favour of a free Parliament. At North Allerton he was attended by the High Sheriff of Yorkshire. Arriving at York on the 11th, he took up his quarters there five days; and by his own authority, modelled and disposed of such forces as he found in the county that had belonged to Lambert. The magnificence of the banquet given to Monk, his officers, and his household, at Nun-Appleton, the seat of the Fairfax family, still lives in the traditions of Yorkshire. On that occasion, and also at the General's own quarters in York, he had much private talk with Fairfax, and his chaplain, Mr. Bowles, both urging him to declare for the king, and promising the support of Yorkshire. Indeed they would have him do this at once. It almost looked as if Yorkshire would not let Monk go till he had satisfied them. It was now Dr. Price's turn to be alarmed; for what if Monk should be losing his head in all this flattery and solicitation. "The night of that day on which "the Lord Fairfax and the General dined privately together, Mr. "Bowles was sent by his Lordship to confer with the General, and "they were in close conference till after midnight. For, about that "time, Dr. Price entering the chamber to go to prayers, as usual, "he found him and Bowles in very private discourse; the General "ordering him to go out for a while, but not to bed. After Bowles "was gone, he called the Doctor to him, commanding his servant "to stay without. He took him close to him, and said, 'What do "'you think? Mr. Bowles has pressed me very hard to stay here "'and declare for the King, assuring me that I shall have great "'assistance.' The Doctor, startled at the boldness of the propo-"sition, asked the General whether he had made Bowles any such "promise. 'No, truly,' cried he, 'I have not,' or, 'I have not yet.' "The Doctor found he was much perplexed in his thoughts, as he "himself was, till after a little pause the Doctor recovered him-"self, and spoke to this effect: That after the famous Gustavus, "King of Sweden, was killed in Germany, his effigies in wax, "with his queen's and children's, were carried up and down to "be shown for a sight, and the spectators were entertained with "the story of his life, in which the Doctor remembered this "passage, that when the king entered Germany, he said, 'that if

"'his shirt knew what he intended to do, he would pull it off "'and burn it.'"

The good people of York were not content with plying the General; some of them had a channel of correspondence with the King and his ministers, and on the strength of it tried to deal with Monk's officers, several of whom were nothing lothe, but put their services rather high. It has often been asked what the result would have been had Monk done what was wanted of him. He had himself no doubt on the matter. It would have ruined his plans by uniting against him all the other parties. The Rump Parliament and the army in London had already made up their quarrel; and, for the present, there was no difference between them and the Fleet, the City, and the forces in Scotland and Ireland, but what they could patch up. Had Monk, under these circumstances, continued to hold the north, the Civil War would have broken out again, with what final issue none can say. Some tell us we should have gone back to the Heptarchy. It is also said that on several occasions in the course of our history it has hung on the scales whether York should not be our metropolis, and that this was one of them. Monk, however, had no taste for trying the experiment. His plan was to advance, and in this Parliament helped him. News, especially ill news, travelled nearly as quick then as now, and Parliament soon heard of these festivities and fraternizations. It was thrown into an agony of terror. It would have been content if he had never crossed the Tweed; but now it sent messengers in hot haste, desiring his immediate presence in town. He obeyed. To clear himself well from the suspicions which his five days at York had brought on him, he publicly caned there one of his officers who had dared to say, "General Monk will at last let in the king upon us." To prove further the innocence of his intentions, he sent back to Scotland, under Major Morgan, a regiment of horse, and another of foot, to be held there in reserve; and instead of taking with him his new Yorkshire forces, he posted them in their own county.

Marching out of York on January 16, in two days Monk arrived at Mansfield. Here Dr. Gumble, who had been three days in London, and had made good use of his time, brought him letters, with news of the state of parties, the suspicion entertained of Monk's designs, and the composition of the Council, of which Monk himself was a member. The most important piece of news was that Scot and Robinson, members of Parliament, and also of the Council, were on the road ostensibly to do Monk honour, and give him assistance, but really as "espials upon his actions, and the temper of his

army; and that having themselves taken the Oath of Adjuration, they would presently be very earnest to engage him therein." Scot was one of the Regicides, and it was through him that Dr. Gumble had been sent to Scotland to watch General Monk. At Nottingham Monk was met by Clarges, returning from London, who informed him that the forces then in the City were much greater than his own, and under the command of his declared enemies. He immediately, therefore, had a letter to Parliament drawn up, recommending that, since these regiments now in the City had so lately been in rebellion against the Parliament, and were not entirely settled and reduced, he was very unwilling that his own dutiful and orderly forces should mix and converse with them. The forces under Fleetwood, therefore, should be sent into the country. The letter, however, was to be kept in hand, and not sent till just when Parliament would not have time, or heart, to deny him. Arriving at Leicester on Monday, January 22, he met Scot and Robinson, members of the Parliament, and now Commissioners from it. They had had a mishap on the way. The jolting of the carriage in a rough road had knocked their heads together, and set Scot's bleeding, so that a chirurgeon had to be sent for. He was rather on the look-out for portents, and this seems to have been fulfilled; for he was executed the ensuing September, glorying, from first to last, in being one of the late king's judges. Monk had these men treated with the most ceremonious respect, as being part of the Government of the country, and in every possible way he showed the utmost deference to their opinions and wishes. They readily accepted all this homage. What most struck the General was that they seemed to suspect and dislike everybody, from which he concluded that they trusted him no better than the rest. At Harborough he was met by Commissioners from the City of London, including two Aldermen, desiring a new Parliament, or, at least, the restoration of the "secluded members." Scot and Robinson cut short their address with a severe rebuke on their presumption, in which Monk entirely acquiesced. When the reception was over, some of the persons about the General took an opportunity of giving the worthy Aldermen privately "a better understanding." At Northampton, on January 24, there was the usual deputation of the gentry waiting for Monk. Having heard how the deputation from the City of London had been treated the day before, they were for not reading their addresses, but had a quiet hint given them to proceed, and be content with what answer they got. The friend who thus comforted them was Dr. Barrow, formerly

principal physician to the army in Scotland, now Judge-Advocate, and one of the little cabinet sworn to secresy at Dalkeith. As the General neared the metropolis, these deputations multiplied, and the two Parliamentary Commissioners showed themselves more and more anxious that the addresses should be replied to with such decision and firmness as to leave no doubt whatever of the General's intentions. Accordingly he allowed Scot and Robinson to deliver the answers themselves in their own words, even in his own presence; one of his friends taking care to let the disappointed deputations know that it did not signify. Even when he had to reply himself in the same strain, he did not omit to make them some amends by look or word, which reassured them.

"From this stage," says Skinner, "the General kept on his march "to Dunstable, January 27, and the next day arrived at St. Alban's, "where he was again besieged with numerous addresses from several "other counties of England, agreeing all in the same applications, "for the restoring the secluded members, or the calling a new Par- "liament. Scot and Robinson had, all the way from Leicester to "St. Alban's, taken up their quarters in the same house with him; "and when they withdrew from him to their own apartment, they "always found or made some hole in the door or wall, to look in "or listen (which they had practised so palpably that the General "found it out, and took notice to those about him, reflecting on this "baseness and evil suspicion), that they might more nearly inspect "his actions, and observe what persons came to him; and also be "in readiness to answer the addresses, and to ruffle with those that "brought them. But here they were so plainly and severely repri- "manded by those gentlemen that came, that Scot, in great passion, "replied: 'Though his age might excuse him for taking up arms, "'yet, as old as he was, before this present Parliament should be "'entangled by restoring the secluded members, or by new elections, "'he would gird on his sword again, and keep the door against "'them.' Among the other interruptions in this place, the General "was troubled with a long Fast Sermon from Hugh Peters. And "now, being within twenty miles of the City, it was thought fit "to send away these letters to Parliament for the removal of Fleet- "wood's army out of London. It was the last and nicest part the "General had to accomplish."

Parliament had received from Scot and Robinson so good an account of their dutiful ward that they gave the proper orders for the removal of Fleetwood's forces into the country, though a minority would have preferred a compromise—half of Monk's, half of Fleet-

wood's. The General remained five days at St. Alban's, waiting for the proper assurance from Parliament, and also for the junction of his forces, some of which had come another route by Newark. At Barnet, his "two evil angels," Scot and Robinson, left his hotel, and found lodgings in a private house, that answering their purpose better. This night, February 2, the General was busy making arrangements for the march of his troops into London, and for their distribution into proper quarters, taking care that they should pay for their entertainment, which they were well able to do. Meantime, Fleetwood's soldiers had been ordered out of the City, with a month's pay in their pockets to soothe their wounded pride.

"But these regiments," says Skinner, "being so long accustomed "to a loose and lazy life, in the luxury of the town, were very "unwilling to exchange their old quarters in the City for worse "and coarser entertainment in the country, and stomached the dis- "grace of the remove, insomuch that some of these regiments began "a mutiny in the suburbs; and at the same time a multitude of "Apprentices, taking the opportunity of the soldiers' discontent, "beat up the drums in the City, declaring for a free Parliament, in "hopes the enraged and disappointed soldiers would join with them. "The Council of State then sitting were so alarmed with the dis- "orders of this night in the City, together with the apprehension "of further mischief which might happen in this unquiet posture "of affairs, that, late in the night, they despatched away messengers "to Scot and Robinson, in the General's quarters at Barnet, desiring "them to hasten his march into the City for prevention of further "mischief. Mr. Scot was so affrighted out of his sleep with this "hasty news that he could not stay to dress himself, but in the "dishabit of his nightgown, cap, and slippers, hurried presently to the "General's quarters, where he made a terrible representation of this "mutiny in the City, requiring General Monk to beat his drums in- "stantly, and march forward. But the General, that did not use to be "alarmed with any little noise, or put out of his temper by a hasty "tale, returned him an answer calmly, and persuaded Mr. Scot to "return to his bed, and put his fears under his pillow; that he was "so near the City that no great mischief could be done in one night, "and that he would be with them early enough in the morning "to prevent any greater design. Yet that the Commissioner might "not be altogether at his wit's end, he presently despatched away "some messengers of his own, to inform him more particularly of "these commotions; who brought him news early in the morning "that the commanders had quieted the mutiny among the soldiers;

"and that some troops of horse, being sent up into the City, had "dispersed the Apprentices, and that the regiments were then "marching out of the town."

"So that all things being thus quieted in the City, the General "took his own time to march leisurely that morning, Friday, February "3, into London. But before he entered the town, he made a stand "at High Gate, where the army, being then but 5,800 men, came "again to rendezvous, and then received orders for the manner of "the march into the City. The three regiments of horse first, and "the General mounted at the head of them, with his trumpets before "him, accompanied with the Juncto's Commissioners, and some of "his own principal officers, with several other persons of quality "that had the curiosity or courtesy to meet him at his several stages "on the way. After the horse marched the four regiments of foot. "And in the afternoon he made his entry by Gray's Inn Lane, "(and Chancery Lane), where, at the Rolls, he made a stop at the "Speaker's door; but he being not yet returned from the House, "the General went on into the Strand, where, being told that the "Speaker's coach was coming near, the General alighted from his "horse, and with much ceremony complimented the Prince of the "Senate and his legislative mace in the boot of the coach. And "thence, accompanied with some of his horse-guards, went on to his "quarters at Whitehall, where the Juncto had assigned him before-"hand the apartments commonly called the Prince's Lodgings."

"The citizens that had been accustomed only to the prancing "of Fleetwood's troops through their streets, which were always "kept fair and wanton, and had used to see those well-clothed red-"coats sleek and trim in the ease and luxury of the City, had but "a cold conceit of this northern army as they passed by. Their "Scotch horse were both thin and out of case with long and hard "marching; and the men as rough and weather-beaten, having "marched in a severe winter about three hundred miles in length, "and through deep and continued snows; so that all their way they "had scarce yet seen the plain earth of their native country."

These soldiers had been now for eight weeks, that is, since December 7, either actually on the march, or dispersed over the country in very rough quarters, ready to march at an hour's notice. It had been frost and snow the whole time. There is no record of casualties by sickness or fatigue. This was the army that was reviewed by Charles II. soon after the Restoration, and that so delighted him, who had seen many foreign armies, that he could hardly be persuaded to have it disbanded. Disbanded it was, except a thousand men—

Monk's own regiment, the Coldstream Guards—on the ground that it had been too much engaged in political and religious factions to be a safe surrounding to a newly-restored throne.

From this point the popular historians are a little fuller; but even here they seem to recoil from the details necessary to do full justice to General Monk's career. It could not be for want of space, but rather to disguise the gap left in his narrative, that Rapin indulges in a very long argument, quite out of place in a history, to prove a conspiracy between Monk, the Presbyterians, and the Royalists, to bring back the Stuarts. He says, the historians tell the half but not the whole; and that the half told is utterly unaccountable and incredible without the admission of the remaining half, viz., a conspiracy, of which Commissary Clarges was the centre. How it was that Monk's brother-in-law had the confidence of all parties, and did their business, as they supposed, at the time that he was betraying them all to his brother-in-law, is not easy to say. But Rapin does not offer the slightest evidence of a conspiracy, and must have been aware that none could be found. He says, the Presbyterians, turned out by the Act of Uniformity, complained loudly of their treatment. Not only was it natural they should complain, but it can hardly be denied they had good reason; for they certainly lent a hand to the Restoration, and much contributed to it. But that only gives the greater value to their silence as to any agreement made and broken, and is indeed conclusive that there was none. No doubt the Presbyterians went into that political crisis with hopes and prospects, and came out of it, so to speak, with great loss, and no gain except the substitution of an irreligious king for a legion of hypocritical tyrants. They then complained of injustice and ingratitude, but not of treachery. The missing complement of the great mystery which Rapin looks for in vain is to be found in the character of the man who did this work; and, with all reverence be it said, in the Divine aid which Monk expected, and received. If to believe that one is working a miracle, and to be so sure of it as to make light of some scruples in the way, constitute fanaticism, then George Monk was just as much a fanatic as Cromwell, or Lambert, or Vane himself. But his qualities were almost preternatural. He knew what all the people and parties around him were doing, and what they would do, very much better than they knew themselves, and he consequently would not have been aided in the slightest degree by any formal announcement of their intentions, or any engagement to co-operate with him. Promises in those days were good for nothing. It was a world of treachery

and lies. The fact of a man being known to practise every kind of political dishonesty did not diminish his credit with his friends and employers, and even enhanced his value in their eyes. It was then in politics and in religion, as it has been more recently in commercial matters. Just as people, now-a-days, trust their fortunes to some one whom they know to be "a bit of a rogue," or to associations managed by men of this mixed character, and then complain loudly when they lose all; so in the matter of their eternal interests, the people of those days believed and trusted a fanatic all the more, because they knew he would stick at no villany.

Monk's contention throughout was that he was working the law and the constitution as he found them, and as his very opponents had made them, in order to bring them back to their proper form. This he did. He had already crossed the Tweed to the rescue of Fairfax, when he received the letter which, by its silence on that point, seemed to disapprove of the march to London. Parliament was itself in fault when its silence could be interpreted into consent. In truth it did not know what to want. Again, there is an apparent inconsistency in Monk's application of force to compel the reception of the "secluded members;" but by that time Monk had producible evidence of a design in the Rump Parliament and the Council to get him into their hands, when he would have followed Strafford, Laud, and Charles, with shorter shrift than they had. "They were planning to remove him suddenly from his command, send him to his old quarters in the Tower, and have his life." London could not have borne many days, or even many hours, longer, the extreme tension it was then suffering—the City one way, Westminster the other way, Monk's army between them, and Fleetwood's wolves prowling all round, and ready to pour in.

Then for the moral engagement to make the best bargain possible for the Presbyterians. To this day it may well be deplored that nothing was done for them; but it is hard to say how it could have been otherwise. They were irreconcilable and impracticable. It must be either they or none else. The late King, in the extremity of his cause, had made concessions to the utmost of his conscience, and beyond it; but these were not enough at the time, and the Presbyterians wanted more now. After Charles II. had been proclaimed in London, they sent a deputation to him at the Hague, insisting, among other points, on his not allowing the use of the Common Prayer, and the surplice, even in his own chapel; and got for answer that while he gave them liberty, he would not have his own taken from him. The charge

most frequently brought against Monk in his own time was that he had brought in the King without any conditions for constitutional government. This fatal misuse of a golden opportunity, it has often been observed, bore fruit in the misgovernment of the country, and then recoiled on the Stuart dynasty; so that, neither England nor the Stuarts had much to thank him for. A great lawyer did propose in Parliament what would have been a very long business for the obtaining of constitutional guarantees from Charles II.; but Monk told the House he had information of such numbers of incendiaries still in the kingdom, that if any delay was put to the sending for the King he could not answer for the peace of either the army or the nation; and as the King was to bring neither army nor treasure, either to frighten or to corrupt them, propositions might be as well offered to him when he should come over. So he moved for sending Commissioners immediately, which was at once carried by acclamation. It would not have been possible to frame propositions that would have satisfied the King, or, putting him out of the question, all the parties and sects that had been at deadly issue now for twenty years.

It is idle to ask whether the Restoration could have been done better, when the marvel is that it was done at all. The world at large had set it down as an impossibility. Only the year before, Cardinal Mazarin had refused to see Charles, lest he should offend the English Parliament, which he told his master he would find a better ally than any king in its place. From the French ambassador in this country, he had received long letters very like the contents of modern blue books, containing more phrases than news. As soon as he saw that Monk was master of the situation, even while he was being pressed by the Parliamentary Commissioners to assume the Crown himself, Cardinal Mazarin directed the French ambassador to call on Monk and offer him his services, whatever his designs were. The General would only consent to see him on the understanding that he should not say a word on English affairs, and that the visit should be one of compliment, and nothing more. Mazarin and another Cardinal died very shortly after the Restoration, it was generally believed of pure vexation at so great an event taking place before their eyes, not only without their having any hand in it, but even in spite of their policy and declared wishes; more than all at its being done by so plain a man as General Monk.

During this extraordinary period, that is from the arrival of Monk, February 3, to the actual return of the King, May 29, besides

many dangerous incidents that threatened the loss of Monk's labours, such as the escape of Lambert from the Tower, to which he had been committed; besides conspiracies, forged letters and spurious proclamations, Monk was continually beset with applications of a political or merely personal character, which it was not expedient to reply to on their own merits. He made it a rule to refer all such applications to the governing power, first to the Rump Parliament, then to the restored one, and, when the Restoration had been decided on, to the King. The disappointed applicants could only see evasion in this, for they measured Monk by his power rather than by his position. But there was no other course. The climax of this sort of persecution was arrived at when General Monk, at Canterbury, just as the King was hoping for a brief rest, after a day of speech-making, shouting and cannonading, put into his Majesty's hands a list of seventy persons recommended as fit for seats at his Privy Council. The King and his attendants glanced their eyes anxiously down the list, and found to their dismay that it included some of the late King's worst enemies, besides other impracticable persons. He observed that he might as well have saved himself the trouble of coming over, if he was to take the throne with such a Council as that. Whereupon some one noticed that the names were in the handwriting of General Monk's secretary, and that perhaps he might throw some light on it. The secretary suggested that the King could speak freely to Monk himself; he was therefore sent for, and asked to explain. He stated briefly that these were all persons who had been recommended to him, and that in every instance he had undertaken to pass on the name and recommendation to his Majesty; but that, having done so, he was acquitted of further responsibility, for it rested entirely with his Majesty to choose for his Councillors whom he should think fit. Thereupon was his Majesty's mind much eased, and he perceived that he need not apprehend annoyance from either General Monk, or those other persons whose names were before him. Indeed, so little trouble did this great subject give his master, that Charles II. often said the Duke of Albemarle never reminded him of what General Monk had done.

For the events between February 3 and May 29, it is sufficient to refer to the popular historians, with the remark that they have all left out much that is most interesting; and that by the very slight way in which they have treated an important period, they have left the ground open for gratuitous surmises and unwarrantable inventions, especially as regards General Monk's policy and motives. But it is his brother we are concerned with. Nicholas does not appear again till near three weeks after General Monk had arrived in the metropolis, and even then he and Sir J. Grenville, as well as the General, understood it to be for their common interest not to be known to have meetings or communications. Nicholas, it will be seen, had provided a sufficient medium. So nothing was lost by the General's unavoidable shyness. The distance at which he kept his royalist friends for a long time encouraged the hope that a restoration could still be avoided. Besides the general body of Republicans, and fanatics of one sort or another, adverse on principle to a royal restoration, there were two classes to whom it meant death or ruin. These were the persons directly implicated in the death of the late King, and they who had obtained large grants of Crown lands. It cannot be supposed that any of these would have wished to see George Monk on the throne longer than should serve their own purpose by the exclusion of the Stuarts. But it was their last chance, and they tried it. Continually raising their bids, they offered him army, navy, palaces, income, the supreme power, and at last the crown itself, anything rather than the Stuarts back again. He would listen, however, to no such overtures, except so far as holding what he had already. Nor, on the other hand, could he venture to say a word for the King. Even in the last week of February, when Parliament had had to submit to his bidding and receive back the "secluded members," he sent a letter to all the remote forces and garrisons, explaining what he had done, and concluding with an order to look after all persons designing disturbances in favour of Charles Stuart, and to give an account of them to Parliament or the Council of State.

Now, however, when the "Lord General Monk," as by this time he was styled, had left his quarters in the City, and occupied first Whitehall, and then St. James's Palace, and had removed the ban off the Royalists, releasing some from their long imprisonment, and forcibly restoring the "secluded" members of Parliament, the Royalists reappeared in great numbers. Among the rest, says Dr. Skinner, Mr. William Morrice, Member for Devonshire in Cromwell's time, and for Newport, in Cornwall, in Richard's, came up to

London, who, being by his wife a connexion of the General, and also particularly recommended to him for his great learning and prudence by his brother, Mr. Nicholas Monk, was retained with him as a domestic friend in his quarters at St. James's, where he became an instrument of several extraordinary services, by keeping up the communication with the leading Royalists. He was not only a man of business, but also a scholar; and it was not without its advantage in this crisis that he had peculiar religious views, which prevented him from being quite identified with any religious party. He was indeed a reputed Presbyterian, but with some disagreements in practice as well as opinion. The General did his best to bring his brother's friend to the front, making him a Colonel in the army, and Governor of Plymouth, that he might have a voice and moderating influence in councils of war; but, as he proved too much of a student to feel at home on such occasions, Commissary Clarges, a better man for that purpose, took his place at the Council. On another occasion, more within his sphere, this gentleman's zeal overran his discretion, at least so the General thought. The Presbyterian clergy, headed by Dr. Calamy, and having the confidence of Parliament, claimed the right of imposing their preachers on Monk, and as that Parliament was the actual Government, he felt it his duty, as it certainly was his policy, to comply. Mr. Morrice and Dr. Price resolved to make a push for the clergy of the Church of England, and for that purpose had procured the attendance of Dr. Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester, the well-known writer on the Creed. An Eton man himself, Dr. Pearson had just published the "Remains of John Hales, of Eton," the friend of Dr. Price and Nicholas Monk. Fortune seemed to favour the little knot of clerical conspirators, for the two Presbyterian preachers supplied by Dr. Calamy chanced to be upset out of their coach into the dirt, "in the bad way by the park wall." Dr. Price set them to rights in his chamber, and while scraping the mud off their faces and robes, tried to persuade them to preach, one of them on that Sunday, the other on the next, which would have left a sermon open to Dr. Pearson. The General was told the state of the case, and Mr. Morrice did his best to persuade him to accept Dr. Pearson, but, though he "well understood the value of the man," he insisted on both the Presbyterians preaching that day; "so careful was he," says Dr. Skinner, "even in this little instance, not to disoblige the party till he had fully done his business with them." Mr. Morrice, out of his place in a "boisterous" council of war, and not attended to in the choice of preachers, seems to

have done his work well in Parliament, which he had to prevent from meddling with any alteration of government, and the debates of which he had to report every night to the General. He could not, however, prevent it from closing its long and chequered career with some extravagant resolutions, which it well knew to be talk and nothing more. It is stated by some writers that while in General Monk's household, and largely in his confidence, Mr. W. Morrice held from Charles the signet as badge of Secretary of State,—possibly no more than Charles's written promise of that office.

On March 13, Parliament having now received the "secluded members," and effaced from its journals the pledge of fidelity to the republic in its actually existing form, deputed Scot, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, and others, to approach General Monk at Whitehall, and offer him the Crown. On this occasion Hazlerig promised him "a hundred thousand hands that should subscribe to his title." When this offer was made, for a considerable time, there had been industriously circulated a pamphlet entitled "The Pedigree and Descent of his Excellency Gen. George Monk, setting forth how he is descended from Edward III., by a Branch and Slip of the White Rose, the House of York; and likewise his extraction from Richard, King of the Romans." There is no doubt the Monks were proud of their descent, in a way, from Edward IV., and that is a circumstance to be borne in mind in estimating the effect of the group of pictures before the reader, in sight of Nicholas Monk every time he officiated in Plymtree Church. At this time the object of disseminating the Pedigree was to procure the plebiscite Parliament undertook the General should have in favour of supreme power, even in the form of royalty. The Parliamentary Commissioners warned him that, if he seated Charles on the throne, that prince would treat him as Henry VII. had treated Sir William Stanley, putting him to death on a frivolous charge, when his real crime was that he had done that King too great a service. The General quietly replied, that the example of Cromwell's family was sufficient warning not to think of the throne, that he still held to Parliament, and Parliament alone.

It was through the above Mr. William Morrice that the General, late in March, or early in April, consented at last to receive the urgent communication from Sir J. Grenville that immediately led to the negotiations with Charles II., and to his restoration. Indeed, so considerable a part had this gentleman in the business that by the circulation of libels and other means an insidious attempt was made to estrange Commissary Clarges from the General's cause, by

representing that Mr. Morrice had got the start of him in the General's opinion and confidence, and that he in fact did everything; so that if the King was restored Mr. Morrice would triumph alone in the glory of the action; while to ruin Mr. Morrice, it was put about that he had complained of the General's tenacious adherence to the Commonwealth, and of the difficulty he had found in inducing him to consent to a restoration. That work once taken in hand was quickly done, though the General continued throughout most cautious in his dealings with Charles and his friends, and most ceremonious in the observance of his duty to the existing Government.

In the blaze of triumph that followed, Nicholas Monk may be said indeed to disappear. The General introduced him and Dr. Price together to Charles, and the doctor, in his narrative addressed, eight or nine years after, to the Duke of Albemarle, expresses his admiration at the simplicity of the man who made no other use of the golden opportunity than to recommend a friend to royal favour. "Your Lordship may possibly still remember that upon the first "introducing of Mr. Nicholas Monk and myself into the King's "presence, you were pleased to assert his zeal and readiness to "serve his Majesty, and in what instances he had done this, par- "ticularly mentioning his journey to Scotland as being undertaken "at his express command. . . . . Now Mr. Nicholas Monk (who "had not learnt the artifice to dissemble the merits of mean "men, it being the first time of his coming to court) was so "just to me as to inform the King in your Lordship's presence, "that he imparted his message, and committed the concerns of "so important an affair, to me, his brother's domestic chaplain "at Dalkeith, and that he found I entertained it willingly, and "was careful and faithful to it; with sundry other eulogies which "the honest, plain-hearted man thought fit to give of me to his "Majesty." Soon after the Restoration Nicholas Monk had his wish gratified, and was made Provost of Eton. On the following August 1, he was created D.D., being presented by Dr. Robert Sanderson, upon the King's Letter certifying that "his Majesty "was well satisfied of the full standing, sufficiency, and merit of "Nicholas Monk, as fully qualified for the degree of D.D., and "also well assured of his particular and eminent sufferings and "services for his Majesty and the Church during the late distrac- "tions." On January 6, the next year, he was consecrated to the See of Hereford, in Westminster Abbey, by the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Durham, Chichester, Lincoln, and Peterborough, but died the following December 16, at his lodgings in the Old

Palace Yard at Westminster, without having visited his diocese. Dr. Price also had the preferment he had designed for himself, but, writing a narrative of the Restoration some years after, he betrays a tone of disappointment hardly becoming his character and the sense of having done real service to his Church and his country. While speaking with the utmost kindness and respect of Nicholas Monk, he seems to contrast his own humble share of the reward with his, forgetting the few months of it he had enjoyed, if enjoyment it had been. Nicholas Monk, D.D., Bishop of Hereford, was buried with very great pomp in Westminster Abbey, the Duke of Albemarle being the chief mourner, and the Bishop of Gloucester preaching the funeral sermon. It was possibly in allusion to his double claim of royal descent that his remains were deposited close to those of John of Eltham, son of Edward II., and Edward III.'s infant children, in St. Edmond's Chapel. Lord Lytton was very lately laid within a few feet of the spot. There appears to have been no memorial to mark the grave or record the name, till the neglect was repaired by a grandson, more than sixty years after. A handsome marble monument bears the following inscription:—

In hac Capella jacet corpus Reverendi admodum in Christo Patris Nicolai Monk, S.T.P.; qui erat Collegii Etonensis olim Præpositus; Episcopus postea Herefordiensis; ac nobilissimi Georgii Monk, Ducis Albemarliæ, Comitis de Torrington et Baronis Monk de Potheridge in Com. Devoniæ, Frater amantissimus, ei que in illo magno Restaurationis Caroli Secundi, et Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ opere coadjutor fuit summus et felicissimus.

Obiit 11 December 1661, ætatis, heu, nimis cito exeuntis, Anno quinquagesimo primo ineunte! Christopher Rawlinson, de Cark, in Com. Lancastriæ armiger, Nepos ejus observantissimus, solus sanguinis Superstes atque Hæres, in perennem Avi sui dignissimi memoriam, hoc marmor posui, 1723.

The Bishop left two daughters, one of whom, Elizabeth, married Curwen Rawlinson, a distinguished member of one of the High Furness Families, and was mother of Christopher Rawlinson, born at New Hall, the Duke of Albemarle's place, in Essex, June 11, 1677, at whose baptism the second Duke and Duchess of Albemarle stood sponsors. She lies buried in the tomb of the Rawlinsons, in St. Mary's, Cartmel. Her epitaph there is a strong, though indirect, testimony to the simple piety and sterling qualities of her father. "She was a most dutiful daughter of the Church of "England as well as of a Prelate of it, being a sublime pattern "of a holy piety, a true charity, a Christian humility, a faithful

"friendship, a religious care of her children, and a divine patience "under the tortures of a long and painful disease, and with which "she resigned her heavenly soul, Sept. 27, 1691, aged 43,"—leaving two sons. The above Christopher Rawlinson, her only child and heir, went to Queen's College, Oxford, and became a learned man, well known as a student of Anglo-Saxon, a favourite literature with the High Church clergy and laity of those times. He published an Anglo-Saxon version of Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, and founded a Lecture, which finally resulted in the present Anglo-Saxon Professorship founded by a relative. He put up a mural monument in Cartmel Church, to the memory of his grandfather, father, and mother; and died without issue, the last, the epitaph says, of the male line of the Plantagenets by the mother's side.

The character and career of General Monk were so exceptional that the world, even yet, does not seem to have found how to estimate them. They who admit that no other person could have done the great things he did, charge him with an utter disregard of truth, and with unbounded avarice. As for the first accusation, while Monk was always ready to do what he was bound to do, and to say what he was bound to say, he would never do or say one bit more than he was bound, and would meet gratuitous surmises with flat contradiction. It was the necessity of a horrible time. As to the second, the facts had best be left to speak for themselves. He was born a member of a high, but ruined family, unable to do its duties, or even to show itself, cherishing prophecies of domestic restoration. His indignation at a gross and treacherous insult to his father drove him beyond the bounds of his usual prudence, and made him an exile from his county. All his life was spent in necessities of one sort or another. Through the unworthy treatment he received from Charles I., he was for years a prisoner in the Tower, where he had to beg an occasional pittance from his elder brother, and, what must have been still more galling, to accept relief in an underhand way from the King. By the time he was forty he had proved by many experiences the truth of the old saying, that "an empty sack cannot be made to stand upright." Want of means was the one universal difficulty of the age. Accordingly, when Monk found himself in command of a good army in Scotland, with something like a career before him, he looked well to his exchequer, and at a time when Charles II. was a needy adventurer, Parliament not knowing where to turn for money, and the English army subsisting on requisitions and promises, he paid

his way, and had a round sum in Bank, besides several well-filled military chests. His army followed him secure not only of victory, which never failed him, but of regular pay, good food, good clothing, and good quarters. His force was but small when he composedly pitched his camp at no great distance from Lambert's much larger one; and he saw without alarm his mounted fanatics deserting to the enemy. His red-coats had money in their pockets, bought their own boots, and were at once good cavalry; boots and shoes making all the difference in those days. When he had waited a little longer his force was stronger than Lambert's. The offer of a *carte blanche* for the disposal of a hundred thousand a year is evidently too hard a fact for historians and biographers, and it is plain Charles II. found himself bound to it after the Restoration. No doubt both he and the Duke of Albemarle often thought of the case of Sir William Stanley, and the hoard which cost him his life, but Monk was not a Stanley, and Charles II. was not a Henry VII. While the Exchequer was always bankrupt, and the Court always penniless, because wickedly wasteful, the Duke of Albemarle was accumulating—one writer says—£400,000 in ten years, and founding, as it seemed probable, the wealthiest family in England. As Monk did not like the Court, nor the Court him, he had nothing to do but to attend to his duties and save, as save he did. Foreign ambassadors went to New Hall to see the greatest living hero in the world, and they were not a little surprised to be received by a plain man, with little show, country fare, and not very lively conversation. A question presents itself. Was Monk even then laying by for a possible crisis worse than that of '59? As in addition to the other charges, Monk is accused of disloyalty to his own principles in not having made as good a battle for the Constitution as for the Crown, and in not having saved the Presbyterians as well as the Church of England, it must be assumed that he was not satisfied himself with the state of things, and knew the work only half done, as in fact it proved. Perhaps it has to be confessed that the habit once formed, and once carried on beyond the time of life when habits are not easily changed, Monk did become that common thing, a simply money-getting man. Avarice is said to be the ruling passion of military heroes. They never forget the sinews of war.

But now for the great redeeming feature. Enjoying the greatest name, the highest position, and the largest fortune in the world, with health, strength, and powers of enjoyment, Monk always carried these in his hand, and risked them at duty's call. It was an old

story when he did this in his naval actions with the Dutch, but he did it also when for months he was the only high official who stuck to his post during the Plague, except the Earl of Craven, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who gave constant attendance and collected through the Bishops large sums for the relief of the plague-stricken population. Monk received in his apartments all who came, at a time when every stranger was suspected of carrying the seeds of death about him. "He conversed daily with more assured dangers than in any battles he had ever fought." For the prompt dispatch of public duties he always made it a rule to put off amusement, which he liked well enough, sleep, meals, and exercise, a necessity of his constitution. He was known for weeks of fine weather never to leave his room, or take any exercise except a few paces backwards and forwards in the intervals of business. The immensity of the work he did in the twelvemonth immediately preceding the Restoration has overwhelmed historians and biographers. They throw the work upon one another. The industrious and conscientious Mr. John Prince, biographer of the *Worthies of Devonshire*, can spare no more than half a page for this, which is a history in itself, and gives up a moiety of that slender notice to the travelling mishap of the two Parliamentary Commissioners. The brother he thus disposes of: "The noble General had a younger "brother, called Nicholas, made Bishop of Hereford, whose memoirs, "though I have prepared, the volume already swoln above the sub-"scription price, I am forced to omit." Hume has done justice to Monk. Not so Lingard, though with the advantage of ampler materials. Guizot, summing up Monk's immense and multifarious labours, adds, "the Restoration came to pass like a natural and "inevitable event, without costing either victor or vanquished a "drop of blood;" and Charles II., re-entering London in the midst of immense acclamation, could say with truth, "It is certainly my "fault that I did not come back before, for I have seen nobody "to-day who did not protest that he had always wished for my "return." Every Englishman is bound to be jealous for the honour of the man who brought this about—the man who was at once the Nelson and the Wellington of his day—but who, to all the arts of war and all its glories, preferred the ways of peace, and accomplished the greatest political act in the annals of this country without the shedding of a single drop of blood, or doing more damage than taking down the chains, gates, and portcullises of the City of London, and presenting them to the Rump Parliament, which had maliciously put him to that proof of his fidelity.

The Duke of Albemarle died in January, 1670, a few days after the marriage of his only son to the daughter of the Duke of Newcastle, by his bedside—himself, with what little strength he had, delivering the bride into the arms of his son. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and his obsequies were the most magnificent ever seen in this country. Like his brother, he had no memorial, except the wax figure that did duty for him in the funeral procession, till remote connexions atoned for the long neglect. It is strange that so great and so beloved a man should have been left without the mark of honour lavished on so many persons who would not otherwise have been remembered. But two memorials George Monk left, it may be said, in spite of a forgetful nation. He left his name to four kings reigning successively over this empire, from the year 1714 to 1830, the first of them born the day before the Restoration. The Coldstream Guards, under that name, are still Monk's own.

The Restoration is still a great name in our annals. We all feel it a claim on our gratitude. Its actors have their due honour. But for it we might be—we need not cross the Atlantic, we need only look across the Channel to say. Defence is needless, and eulogies are vain, when the tale is so marvellous and the benefits so unquestionable. Yet, upon the whole, there is little reason for wishing the occasion ever to recur, or the examples ever to be imitated, or the history, or the careers, ever to repeat themselves. The triumph was great, but the sequel was not in harmony. The second Duke of Albemarle dissipated his father's immense fortune and fame. The title became soon extinct. So too the honours lavished on Sir J. Grenville. Nicholas Monk was promoted to a position for which one can hardly suppose him to have been fitted, and he then died, happily perhaps for himself and for his diocese. The expulsion of the Stuarts was only delayed by one generation of misgovernment, sin, and shame. The chief prize of the Restoration fell to a child a day old when it took place. The religious sore broke out again, never to be healed to this day. It is impossible not to feel that if the two clergymen who settled the affairs of the nation with so much hilarity, and so much prescience too, at Dalkeith Palace that summer's day, had been able to see a little outside the immediate sphere of their modest ambition, they would have trespassed on the sacred ground of the coming time somewhat more cautiously and reverentially.

In respect to the following matters, viz., the Notice and the Will of Mr. John Land, "the Poor Book of Plymtree," and the "Bill for cooking Archbishop Morton's Buck," found in the Records of the City of Canterbury, the Rector of Plymtree has to acknowledge his obligations to Mr. J. B. Sheppard, of Canterbury, editor of the Christ Church Letters, published last year by the Camden Society, who, on a visit to Plymtree, kindly undertook to examine the contents of the parish chest.

Mr. John Land.

The name of John Land is conspicuously preserved in this church in three different ways: first, occupying the most prominent place in the List of Benefactors; then, inscribed on the large and massive Communion Plate which he bequeathed to the parish; then, in very large gold initials, with the date of his death, on the once handsome velvet pulpit cloth. Just now a special interest attaches to the name. Shortly after the building of Temple Bar John Land was owner of the house, No. 1, Fleet Street, long called "ye Marygold," communicating with it; and it was he who leased the house in 1676 to Robert Blanchard, founder of Messrs. Childs' Bank. Besides being his tenants, Sir Francis Child and Mr. John Rogers, who succeeded Mr. Blanchard, were evidently his personal friends, and like him, goldsmiths and jewellers. Whether he was himself a banker, or, as bankers were then styled, "a keeper of running cashes," can be only surmised. It must be a matter of regret that so little is known of a man who, going up from Plymtree to London with small means, in very troublous times, made a fortune and very good friends; and who loved his friends, his Church, his old village home, and all the people about him, to the last. In the noise and bustle of Fleet Street he still remembered the Pulpit, the Altar, and the Poor of the old parish church. It is probable that his most abiding impressions were those left on his youthful mind by Nicholas Monk, who was serving the church when Land would be leaving Plymtree for London, and for many years afterwards when Land would be paying occasional visits to his Plymtree friends. It may interest the reader to know something of the home left for the metropolis, and so long and well remembered there. For this purpose it is sufficient to quote Polwhele, the county historian, writing near the end of last century:— "Towards the north-east part of the parish is an old mansion, called

"Woodbear Court. William de Woodbere held Woodbere in this "parish 21st Henry III. and 24th of Edward Robert de Woodbere. "From Robert, by Julian, it came to William Dauney, and continued "in that name till Henry IV., when John Dauney left it to his "daughters, married to Sackville, Baron, Ford, and Churchill. The "land in process of time came to Augustin Stewkeley, by whose "daughter Elizabeth it came to Tye, and by Tye's daughter to Land "of Tiverton. From this family of Land it came into the possession "of that of the Jopes, from whom it has passed to Young, of Tiverton. "The mansion house is built of cob, and thatched ; the walls being "above four feet thick. It is surrounded with gardens, and orchards, "and high walls, and has a dreary appearance resembling those man-"sions of old said to be haunted with ghosts and spectres." Thus far Polwhele. The main part of the building has probably remained the same through all these changes of ownership and the ancient cob home of John Land has now survived the solid stone arch he watched, as it rose before his eyes in Fleet Street. About five years since a rainy season, followed by a hard frost, brought down the porch and room over it, when it was found that, as they required somewhat better material and greater nicety of construction than the main walls, they had been built with very small sunburnt bricks, roughly plastered over. The property is now let for more than £400 a year, and its relative position in the parish is the same as in Land's time, the third in importance. It was then held by his two relatives, John and Robert. They have the prefix of "Mr." in the parish books and one of them was churchwarden. In the Register of Baptisms and of Births, the name of Land occurs frequently during the reign of Charles I., the Commonwealth, and Charles II. "Augustin Land" would probably be so named from his ancestor, Augustin Stewkeley. It is not unlikely that the John Land baptized 1631 is the testator. Being the younger son of a younger son in a numerous family, he was apprenticed to a goldsmith in Fleet Street, at a period, it would seem, of commercial success and financial difficulty. The goldsmiths had become so prosperous, and were now making so grand a display at the east end of Cheapside, that Charles I. had been invited to give his royal command that a certain length of that street should be reserved for goldsmiths, and that meaner trades should not be allowed to spoil the show. On the other hand, about that time being in great want of money, he resorted to the ancient remedy of seizing it where it lay, and took the merchants' money deposited in the Mint. The merchants thereupon tried to keep their cash at home; but their apprentices got hold of it, absconded, and secured their persons,

perhaps their plunder too, by enlisting. There was nothing for it then but to send their cash to the goldsmiths and jewellers, who kept strong boxes, and were accustomed to the charge. This was the commencement of our banking system; for all our first bankers were goldsmiths and jewellers, who kept running cashes. But for assistants and apprentices they wanted young men of honest parentage, good education, and proved fidelity. Such was John Land. The Rector of Plymtree, taught by the example of his unthrifty ancestors, had not disregarded the lessons of worldly prudence, for he had himself married a widow with money, and it had helped him to keep up, if not to recover, the position of a gentleman, recognised in the Register by the affix of Esquire. John Land made his fortune very fast, and did not avail himself of it to change town for country, as his opposite neighbour, Isaac Walton, had done. He stuck to the place, to his trade, and to his friends. It was in the year 1676, ten years after the Fire of London, and six years after the building of Temple Bar, that he leased the Marygold to Blanchard, who immediately took into partnership Child, grandson of a former head of the firm. Four years afterwards, Francis Child took into partnership John Rogers; and the legacies left in the Will below prove a friendship of near twenty years. The circumstance of John Land being the owner of a valuable property and leasing it for a long term of years, shows that he cared more for regular income than for disposable capital, and therefore did not add to his trade "running cashes." Though married, he had no children, as far as appears; and not being of a speculative turn, he was content with employment, competency, friendship, a good hope beyond the grave, and a wish to be remembered both by his town and his country neighbours, and even by their posterity.

COPY OF MR. JOHN LAND'S WILL WHEREBY HE GAVE TO THE POOR OF PLYMTREE £100 THE COMMUNION PLATE &c.

(*Endorsed* "26*th April* 1697.")

In the name of God Amen I John Land of the parrish of St. Martins Ludgate in London Gent. being in perfect healthe and of sound and disposing mind memory and understanding praised be Allmighty God for the same considering w$^{th.}$ myself the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the time thereof do make and

declare this my last will and Testament in manner and forme following that is to say first and principally I commend my soul to Almighty God trusting in the alone merits of my dear and ever blessed Saviour Jesus Christ my body I commit to the earth willing it to bee buryed in a decent manner by my executors hereafter named in the parrish church of the parrish where I shall happen to decease and that my Executors doe not expend above the sum of Eighty pounds upon my funerall and as for such Estate which God of his great mercy hath been pleased to bestow upon mee I give devise and bequeath the same as followeth (that is to say) IMPRIMIS I give and devise all my freehold messuage or Tenement with the appurtenances scituate lying and being in Fleet Street on the southside of the same Street Next adjoining to Temple barr in the parrish of St. Dunstans in the West in London now in the tenure of Sir Fran: Child Knight and Alderman of London to the Minister Churchwardens of the parrish of St. Dunstans in the West in London & their Successors Ministers & Churchwardens of the same parrish for ever upon Trust and Confidence nevertheless that the said Minister & Churchwardens of the said parrish shall yearly and every yeare for ever pay and dispose of the rent of the said Messuage or Tenement & premisses being Sixty Pounds per annum of lawful mony of England from the time of my decease to six of the most poor and indigent freemen of London of the age of sixty yeares or upwards inhabiting within the said parrish of St. Dunstans in the West in London by Ten pounds apeece by quarterly payments (that is to say upon the feast days of the birth of our Lord God the Annunciacion of the blessed Virgin Mary the Nativity of St. John baptist & St. Michael the Archangell) by even and equal porcons the first payment thereof to be made upon the Next of the said feast that shall happen after my decease and I doe will that the said six poor men soe as aforesaid to receive the said ten pounds per ann. apeece shall be men of good report & Testimony of their pyety & honesty & full Sixty yeares of age apeece at the least and that the Minister Churchwardens and Vestrymen of the said parrish of St. Dunstans in the West London for the time being shall have the Nomination of the six poor & indigent men & soe as often from time to time as they shall think fit & if it shall happen that the said messuage or tenement shall hereafter bee let for above the yearly rent of Sixty pounds then I doe will that all such rent over & above the said Sixty pounds per ann. shall be paid to such poor men inhabitants of the said parrish & in such manner as the Minister Churchwardens & Vestrymen of the same parrish for the time being shall that think fit. ITEM I

give and devise all that my other freehold messuage or tenement with the appurtenances commonly called or known by the name of Sugar loafe and green lettice * scituate lying and being in fleete street aforesaid on the Southside of the same Street & adjoyning to the said last mentioned messuage or tenement & late in the tenure or occupacion of Jno. Dutton cooke or his assignes & now or late in the tenure of or occupacion of Wm. Biggons or his assignes & in the parrish of St. Dunstans in the West in London to the Minister & Churchwardens of the said parrish of St. Dunstans & to their successors Ministers & Churchwardens of the same parrish for ever upon trust & confidence nevertheless that the said Minister & Churchwardens of the same parrish for the time being doe and shall yearly & every year for ever pay and dispose of thirty pounds per ann. being one moyety or halfe part of the rents & profitts of the last mencioned messuage or tenement soe to them devised as aforesaid to three poore Widdows of good report and widdows of honest freemen of the Citty of London by ten pounds apeece & to be paid to them by quarterly payments & doe & shall allsoe pay & dispose of thirty pounds per ann. the other moyety or halfe part of the rents issues & profits of the said last mencioned messuage yearly and every yeare for ever for and towards the putting out to prentice to some honest trades three poor Children of poor & honest freemen of London & I doe will that the Minister Churchwardens & Vestrymen of the said parrish of St. Dunstan's in the West in London for the time being shall yearly have the nominacion of the said three poor widdows & three poor boys for ever and I desire them to take care that the rents issues & profits of my said two messuages or tenements soe devised to the said Ministers & Churchwardens as aforesaid bee yearly disposed off in manner as aforesaid and according to the true intent and meaning of this my will. ITEM. I give and bequeath the sum of five hundred pounds of Lawful money of England to be distributed by my Executors by ten pounds apeece to fifty poore and honest freemen of the Citty of London each of them being of the age of sixty yeares or to the Widows of freemen of the same age and I doe order my Executors to pay to such poor as aforesaid the said five hundred pounds within ten days after my decease. ITEM I give and bequeath the sum of one hundred pounds to be put out at Intrest on good security for the benefitt and use of three poor honest men and two poor honest women inhabitants of the parrish of Plymtree in the County of Devon And the intrest thereof to be paid to the said five poor people halfe yearly Equally for ever. ITEM

*Sc. lattice.

I doe order my Executors hereinafter named with all convenient speed after my decease to sell and dispose of my plate and rings hereinafter mentioned (Viz), my two silver tankards two silver plates a silverguilt salver caudle cupp and porringer a silver boate and taster a little silver box two dozen of silver spoones and one dozen of silverguilt spoones and all my other plate whatsoever And also my large gold seale ring a large plaine gold ring three diamond rings and eight other mourning and hair rings And the money to be raised thereby I order to be laid out by my Executors in the purchase of plate for the Communion table of the Church of the said parrish of Plymtree and a velvet cushion for their pulpitt And it is my desire that the Minister and Churchwardens and four of the principall Inhabitants of the said parrish of Plymtree for the time being doe take all due care of the Charity of one hundred pounds Communion plate and Cushion given by mee as aforesaid to the parrish and parrish church of Plymtree. ITEM I give and bequeath to Christ Hospitall in London fifty pounds and to five poore prisoners in the prison of Ludgate London fifty pounds towards their release out of prison, which of them my Executors shall think fitt. ITEM I give to five poore boys of St. Dunstans parrish aforesaid to putt them out to bee apprentices fifty pounds. ITEM I give fifty pounds to five and twenty of poorest persons inhabitants of highgate in middlesex to bee appointed by the ministers and Chapplewardens of the said place and I order my Executors to pay the four last mencioned Charitys within fifteen days after my funerall. ITEM I give to my Cozen Thomas Death Sen$^{r.}$ two hundred pounds for a legacye and mourning and to my Cozen his wife twenty pounds for a legacy and morning and to my Cozen Thomas Death, jun$^{r.}$ twenty pounds for a legacy and mourning and allsoe my Aggate Seale to my Cozen Jn$^{o.}$ Land Sen$^{r.}$ of Pitt in the parrish of Silferton in Devon five pounds and Allsoe five pounds for mourning to W$^{m.}$ Land Sen$^{r.}$ of the said parrish five pounds to Rob$^{t.}$ Land of Plymtree aforesaid five pounds and to his son Jn$^{o.}$ five pounds. ITEM I give to my Godson Richard Land son of W$^{m.}$ Land Sen$^{r.}$ twenty pounds my Cornelian ring sett in silver and all my bound bookes and as for my pamphletts and manuscripts Except sermons I order my Executors to burn them immediately after my decease. ITEM I give Dorothy Bennett ten pounds and to her son Charles Bennett my saphire ring sett in silver and all my wearing apparel woollen and silk and half my linning and the other half of my linning I give to W$^{m.}$ Norris my shooes and stockings to Deborah Cliffe three pounds and in case shee shall [*happen*] to dye before mee I give the same to six poor people of the

parrish of St. Andrews Holbourne in Middlesex to be disposed of at the discretion of the Minister Churchwardens of the same parrish to the maid in the house where I shall happen to decease forty shillings. ITEM it is my desire that rings of ten shillings vallue apeece bee given att my funerall and that a mantle of marble of the value of one hundred pounds bee sett over or near the grave in the Church where I shall bee buryed and that fifty pounds be distributed to the poor of the parrish where I shall decease. ITEM I give to my lanlord Jn°. Halse mercer and his wife ten pounds apeece for mourning to Bridget Seamor ten pounds but if she shall dye before mee then I give the said Legacy of ten pounds to ten poore people of the parrish of Redriffe in Surry to be disposed off at the discretion of the minister and Churchwardens of the said parrish. ITEM I give to the Hospitall of Bethlem one hundred pounds to be layd out in the purchase of lands of inheritance for the use of the said Hospitall of Bethlem for Ever to the poor of the parrish of St. Hellens in London ten pounds to Sir Franc. Child and to my Lady Child his wife ten pounds a peece for mourning to Mr. Josh. Chambers ten pounds for mourning to the said Wm. Biggon and his wife five pounds apeece for mourning. And I doe hereby make name and appoint the said Joseph Chambers and Mr. Jn°. Halse Joint and full Executors of this my last will and testament and I doe give to each my said Executors twenty pounds for their care and pains to bee taken in the Execution of this my will and all the rest and residue of my estate whatsoever I give and bequeath to the Hospitall of Bridewell London and I doe hereby make void all former wills Testaments and Codicells by mee made and doe declare this contained in these six sheets of paper to be my last will and Testament in Wittness whereof I the said Testator Jn°. Land have hereunto sett my hand and seale the six and twentyeth day Aprill Anno domini 1697 and in the ninth year of the Raign of our Soveraigne Lord King Wm. the third of England &c. *Jn°. Land* this writing was signed and sealed by the said Testator Jn°. Land and by him published and declared to bee his last will and Testament in the presence of us whose names are subscribed and wee did allsoe subscribe our names in the presence of the said Testator *Wm. Trimmer Robt. Hanslapp Jos. Cobb*

I Jn°. Land of the parrish of St. Martins Ludgate London Gent. doe make and add this Codicell to my last will and Testament hereunto annexed and doe declare it is part thereof and do appoint and will my Executors in my said will named to pay these respective legacys following (Vizt.) imprimis I give to the Lady Blagrave of Whitton in the County of Middlesex the sum of forty pounds. ITEM

I give to the said Lady Blagraves son Joseph Taylor and to the daughter Ellanah Blagrave the sum of five pounds apeece to buy them mourning. ITEM I give to Jane Lockmore of Whitton aforesaid two pounds. ITEM I give to all the servants male and female of the family where I shall happen to reside at the time of my decease the sum of twenty shillings apeece Except the Cooke servant and to him or her I give forty. ITEM I give to Mr. Rogers partner to Sr. Fran. Child of London Gouldsmith the sum of tenn pounds. ITEM I give to Christ Church Hospitall in London the sum of fifty pounds more then I have already given the said Hospitall in my will. ITEM I give to my Executors forty pounds apeece more then what I have already left them in my will. ITEM I give to Mrs. Susannh. King of Whitton aforesaid Widdow a gold ring of the vallue of twenty shillings which I desire my executors to purchase and deliver to her. ITEM I give to my Godson Richard Land son of Wm. Land of Silferton in the county of Devon the sum of fifteen pounds more then what I have allready given him. ITEM I doe hereby revoake and make void that clause Legacy or devise in my said will whereby I gave or mencioned or intended to give all the rest and residue of my Estate whatsoever after payment of the legacys in my said will mencioned to the Hospitall of Bridewell London and my will and mind is and I doe hereby require my Executors to pay the legacys hereinbefore devised after payment thereof then I give and bequeath all the rest residue and remainder of my estate whatsoever there shall bee and remaine after payment of the legacys in my said will and in this Codicell mencioned and bequeathed unto the said Hospitall of Bridewell London. ITEM I give and bequeath unto the said Lady Blagrave my silver pendulum watch. IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale this 11th day of September in the 9th year of the Raign of our Sove. Lord Wm. the third over England &c. Anno Domini 1697. JOHN LAND.

Signed sealed and published by the said Jno. Land and by him declared to bee part of his will hereunto annexed in the presence of *Jane Luney, Joseph Asbrton, Abraham King.*

The Poor Book of Plymtree.

This parchment volume contains the Accounts of the Overseers of the Poor from the year 1628 to 1706. In the earlier pages there is no record of a regular assessment of the parish for the relief of the poor, although it is probable that a contribution proportionate to the means of the payer was in some way collected. The Overseers had funds which they lent out to borrowers in some way which was advantageous to the paupers. Perhaps the borrowers themselves were the paupers, and were helped by temporary loans without interest; perhaps the sums were advanced upon usury to necessitous farmers, and the interest applied for the use of the poor. Whether the former or the latter plan was followed, the result was unfortunate, for in 1656 things had come to the pass that £22 were owing to the Overseers with small prospect of payment, although after "suits in law" Abraham Webber managed to snatch £5 10*s.* out of the fire. The loose way which the parish officers had of doing business no doubt conduced to the unfortunate result, since still in 1656 we find (5 v°) that one Middleton, having borrowed £23, giving a bond as security, honourably gave a second bond to replace the original which the Overseers had lost, adding £1 3*s.* to the first amount by way of interest. In most cases one or two sureties were required to guarantee repayment of the sum borrowed; but on one occasion a man, who already owed 10*s.*, was allowed to have a farther advance of 20*s.* "upon his word" only. In 1678 a complete change was introduced in the manner of keeping the accounts, and of providing for the helpless and indigent. The parish *stock* was probably at the time all lost; and a rate was levied upon every owner and occupier in the parish, the amounts being collected every month, and distributed (and accounted for) by the Overseers. The parishioners seem to have been stay-at-home people; for Harward and Webber, Prowse and Pierce (Pearse), with many other names, are seen equally in the rate-books of 1678 and 1878. The Rector does not appear as a distributor of parish alms until 1688, when Matthew Mundy, who then had the living, signs the entries in the book at the head of the officials.

Every rate was made at a parish meeting, and authorised by two Justices of the Peace. It was collected month by month as long as the sum yielded was sufficient, and not too great for the purposes for which the rate was made; then, when the demands upon the public fund became heavier or lighter, a new rate was made, a notice being entered in the "Poor Book" of the number of months during which the old rate had run: thus in 1679 a monthly sum of 14*s.* 1*d.*

was voted. This was collected 58 times, and produced a total sum of £40 16*s.* 10*d.* The Overseers record their disbursements under the heads of "Ordinary" and "Extraordinary," or, as an officer of 1706 prefers to spell it, "Exter ordennery," disbursements. The *ordinary* expenses are chiefly allowances made to old or disabled parishioners; the *extraordinary* record payments for the clothing of parish apprentices, law costs incurred in the prosecution at sessions of defaulters and misdemeanants, and subscriptions to the gaol and hospital (an annual expense of about 21*s.*).

Apprentices were not, as now, necessarily bound to craftsmen to learn a trade, but were parish children handed over for a term of years to be servants without wages to farmers and others who wanted cheap labour.

In 1688 a woman, Jane Elforde, was Overseer.

Records of a few matters not relating to the relief of the poor are to be found in the book. Thus on fol. 8 is the title, "Armor belonging to our Parishe," under which is a list of the costletts, headpeeces, musketts, and other weapons, offensive and defensive, which were stored up in Plymtree against the day when the King or the Parliament, whichever happened to have the local ascendency, might call upon the village to contribute its contingent to one or other army in the great civil war.

The names of Harward, Tye, Crosse, Land, Sainthill, Salter, and Webber, are found among the payers of rates; whilst those of Greedy, Vesie, Sheppard, Bandfeild, Pearse, and Scamp, are in the roll of receivers of doles.

There are two memoranda by which the Parish of Plymtree, through its officers, undertakes to receive and acknowledge as parishioners certain persons who were leaving their homes in search of higher wages. In one case the adventurer had gone to Broadhembury, and an undertaking was given to the officers of that parish guaranteeing them against the possibility of his becoming chargeable to them.

Among the disbursements are the following noticeable items:—

1696. Paid to Rd. Buckle when his son's bone was broken, 5*s.*

1702. John Land, for curing Joce Tayllor's leg, £1. Robert Vesey, for keeping out the dogs, 6*s.*

1704. Queen's tax upon every burial, 4*s.* Paid Mr. Wilcox about Shakell's wife's leggs, 5*s.*

1704. For a precept to warne masterless persons, 6*d.* (a relic of Saxon serfdom).

1704. Cost of setting up the stocks, 12*s.*

BILL FOR COOKING ARCHBISHOP MORTON'S BUCK, FOUND IN THE RECORDS OF THE CITY OF CANTERBURY.

Solut. pro quodam Jantaclo, facto in domo Willelmi Bell, dato Majori Aldermannis Camerariis et aliis honestis personis civitatis Cantuar. quo tempore Dns. Cardinalis dedit unam feram vocatam Bukk.

In primis pro pane, xvd.
It. pro iiijor. lagenis cerevisie, vd, ob.
It. pro dimidio bunne berisie xijd. (cask, no definite size, of *Beer* not *Ale*).
It. pro flowre ad pistrandum feram, xvjd.
It. pro pepere, iiijd.
It. pro macys, gariofilatis, Sandel, Sinapi, aceto, vergeos, albo sale, et melle, vd.
It. pro ij. le Croppys carnis bovine, xijd.
It. pro ij. le marybones, ijd.
It. pro labore coci, vijd.
It. laboratori vertenti veru, id.

THE ROOD SCREEN.

THE Chancel Screen, or Rood Screen, extends across the church, and contains thirty-four painted panels. Beginning from the north, the subjects are:—

1. Saint with book and sword. St. Paul?
2. Saint with book and spear. St. Thomas?
3. Saint with book, cockle shell, staff, and wallet. St. James the Greater?

4. John the Baptist, with staff surmounted with cross and flag, with lamb and book, to which he is pointing with the forefinger of right hand.

5. The Saviour, holding a staff surmounted by a cross: all the wounds shown, including that on the side, and the marks of the crown of thorns.

6. John the Evangelist, carrying book and palm branch, and expelling a dragon from a cup held in his right hand.

7. 8. The Annunciation.

9. 10. The Visitation. Mary without the *nimbus*.

The Chancel gates.

11. 12. 13. 14. The Adoration of the Three Kings. The group before the reader.

15. A Bishop—Richard Fox?—looking towards Henry VII., and giving him the episcopal blessing. Fox was Bishop of Exeter, 1486; Bath and Bristol, 1492; Durham, 1494; Winchester, 1500, being then between 50 and 55.

16. A Queen and Saint, holding a sword downwards in her right hand, and placing her left hand on her bosom, apparently in pain. A handsome figure. St. Catherine?

17. Saint, holding staff in left hand, and with the right showing a wound in his thigh, in pain. St. Roch?

18. An Angel blessing him. Raphael or Gabriel?

19. St. Margaret. She has been devoured by a dragon, all but the tail of her red dress, which hangs out of the dragon's mouth. The dragon has burst, and the Saint rises out of the rent in its back.

20. A Saint, holding a lamb on a cushion.

21. A Saint, with her eyes torn out, and carrying them in a small basket in one hand, and a knife in the other. St. Lucia?

22. An aged Saint, in white, holding two gold chalices.

23. A female Saint, holding a large bunch of keys in her right hand, and book in her left. St. Zita, patroness of Christian housekeepers.

24. Saint and Bishop blessing her. St. Anselm?

25. Saint, reading a book in her right hand, and holding a basket of flowers in her left. St. Dorothea or Elizabeth?

26. St. Michael and the Dragon. He stands on the dragon, smiting it with a sword, and holding his helmet in his left hand.

27. St. Sidwell, holding her head, and also a scythe, in her hands, with a nimbus in place of her head.

28. St. Sebastian, tied to a tree, naked, and pierced with eight arrows.

29. A female Saint, carrying book and cross.

30. A Saint, holding staff, bearded: a fine manly figure. St. Roch, pendant to St. Sebastian, as a preservation from plague. (?)

These are on the gates of the Chancel Aisle.

31. St. Agnes, holding lamb and palm, and looking towards Edward the Confessor?

32. A King, holding a sceptre and a ring. Edward the Confessor?

33. Female Saint, holding a sword in her right hand, a book in her left. St. Barbara?

34. A figure half hidden in the wood-work of a pew.

This Screen was probably erected in the reign of Edward IV. Among the few bits of painted glass remaining in the windows of the chancel is the "Sun-burst" of Edward IV., or the "Glorious Sun of York." The Bourchier knot is repeated on the screen in several forms. There is also on the back of it a device containing THŌĀS, or Thomas, the Christian name of Archbishop Bourchier, and the figures 74. The pomegranate appears in the back of the screen. That fabric bears evident marks of early alteration, and the paintings on it are of different dates—the first six in the above list being probably of the date of its original erection, the rest considerably later.

London: R. Clay, Sons, and Taylor, Printers.

NOTES.

NOTES.

Page 1.—For the following extracts and translations from the Exeter and the Exchequer Domesday Books the Rector of Plymtree has to thank Mr. Robert Dymond, F.S.A., Bampfylde House, Exeter, Honorary Secretary of the Devon and Exeter Institute.

EXON DOMESDAY, fol. 378 b.

∧ Odo ht̃ i mã plumtrei q̧ tenuit bristric̃ eadẽ die q rex E. f. u. & m & reddidit gildũ p̧ ii hidis & i virḡ has possunt arare. v carr̃ de his ht̃ o. indn̄io i hid. & ii carr̃ & uillani. unã hid & i virḡ & iii carr. Ibi ht̃. O. xv uitt & iiii bord & iiii servos & i runcin & xiii animt. & xx oues & xx agros nemoris & xx agros pti & ualet p̧ ann̄ c sot. & qñ recepit ualeb̃ tantund.

quam tenuit bristricus
Odo has a manor Plumtrei, which Bristric held on the day in
fuit vivus et mortuus
which king Edward was living and dead, and it rendered geld for
carrucæ
two hides and one virgate (or rod). Five ploughs can till these.
habet Odo in dominio
Of these Odo has in demesne one hide and 2 carrucates (or ploughlands) and the villeins one hide and one virgate (or rod) and 3
bordarios
carrucates. There Odo has 15 villeins, and 4 bordars, and 4 serfs, and one pack-horse, and 13 cattle, and 20 sheep, and 20 acres of wood,
prati c solidos
and 20 acres of meadow, and it is worth by the year 100 shillings,
quando recepit valebat tantundem.
and when he (Odo) received it it was worth as much.

In the Exchequer Domesday it occurs thus under *Terra Odonis filii Gamelin* :—

Ipse O tenꝫ Plumtrei Brictric teneb T. R. E. 7 geldb ꝑ ii hid 7 una ꝝ tre tra ē v car. In diño st ii carꝫ 7 iiij serui 7 xv uilli 7 iiii bord cū iij carꝫ Ibi xx ac pā 7 xx acꝰ silue. Olim 7 modo uał c solid.

Odo himself holds Plumtrei. Brictric held it in the time of King Edward, and paid geld for 2 hides and one virgate of land. There is land for five ploughs. In tempore Regis Edwardi In dominio sunt 2 carrucæ In demesne are 2 carrucates, and 4 serfs, and 15 villeins, and 4 bordars, with 3 carrucates. There are 20 acres of meadow and 20 acres of wood. Formerly and now worth 100 shillings.

Brihtric Meaw, or Mau, or Snaw, the surnames indicating a white complexion, was a Saxon thane, the son of Algar, the son of Hailward, and, next to Edward the Confessor, the richest man in the kingdom. Besides the Honor of Gloucester, he inherited from his ancestors Avening, Tewkesbury, Fairford, Thornbury, Whitenhurst, and many other estates and manors, including eighteen in Devonshire. While still a youth he was sent by Edward the Confessor, early in his reign, on a special embassy to Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, whose friendship just then it was desirable to secure. The Earl's daughter, Matilda, who could not have been over fourteen, fell in love with the handsome envoy, and, through a messenger, asked the same of him. It is said that he had left a lady-love at home; but, for one reason or another, he returned a deaf ear.

La quele jadis, quant fu pucelle,
Ama un conte d'Angleterre,
Brihtric Mau, le oi nomer,
Apres le roi ki fu riche ber.
A lui la pucell envoeia messager,
Pur sa amour a lui procurer;
Mais Brihtric Maude refusa.

In the end poor Brihtric paid dearly for his want of gallantry, or his fidelity; but Maude suffered long the sting of her passion. For seven long years William the Bastard, the foremost spirit of the age, courted her in vain, till the lady made boast of her indifference. Descended from emperors of Germany and kings of Gaul, she skitted at the defect of his birth. William retaliated in his own way. One

day he rode up to the gates of her father's palace at Lille, sprang down, stalked alone into the hall of presence, and passed from one apartment to another into the chamber of the Countess, where he found the fair object of his conflicting passions. Dealing her some heavy blows, he seized her by her long hair, dragged her about along the floor of the room, walked out, mounted his horse, and was far away before he could be pursued, if there was any wish to pursue him. The treatment answered, and she was finally won. More than twenty years after she had been rejected by the Saxon thane, and when she had become the mother of several children by William, she found herself Royne d'Angleterre—the first bearer of a title hateful to Saxon ears. After the siege of Exeter, early in 1068, before ever Maude had set foot on her new kingdom, Brihtric was seized in his manor of Hanelye and taken to Winchester, where he quickly died in prison, and as quietly was buried. As for his immense possessions, they were confiscated and conferred upon the queen. At her death she left them to William Rufus. So much for Hailward, Algar, Brihtric, Maude, and Rufus, five successive owners of this manor. Odo held it of Maude. How far Plymtree came in for the penalties in the train of an unrequited love does not appear, but Gloucester was deprived of its charter and liberties, and made the winter residence of the king.

Page 4.—Among the traditions of the Coleridge family is a tremendous anathema fulminated by the Poet on the Plymtree roads. Half these roads have been much improved since the date of this fearful ejaculation, and the remaining half closed and thrown into the fields. Hence the parish roads are fair, but there are too few of them. Unfortunately the change does not appear in the Ordnance Survey Map, which for rural districts generally is now a century out of date. As, too, most of the country maps are founded on those of the Ordnance Survey, English geography is hopelessly vitiated—without remedy indeed, for were any publisher so adventurous as to bring out a county map on a new survey of his own, the War Office, with the national resources at its command, would step in at the last and beat him out of the field. The Imprecation on the Plymtree roads is not to be found in any accessible collection of S. T. C.'s works. It is as follows:—

> The indignant Bard compos'd this furious ode,
> As tir'd he dragg'd his way thro' Plimtree road!
> Crusted with filth and stuck in mire
> Dull sounds the Bard's be-mudded lyre;

Nathless Revenge and Ire the Poet goad
To pour his imprecations on the road.
Curst road! whose execrable way
Was darkly shadow'd out in Milton's lay,
When the sad fiends thro' Hell's sulphureous roads
Took the first survey of their new abodes;
Or when the fall'n Archangel fierce
Dar'd through the realms of Night to pierce,
What time the Blood-Hound lur'd by Human scent
Thro' all Confusion's quagmires floundering went.

Nor cheering pipe, nor Bird's shrill note
Around thy dreary paths shall float;
Their boding songs shall scritch owls pour
To fright the guilty shepherds sore
Led by the wandering fires astray
Thro' the dark horrors of thy way!
While they their mud-lost sandals hunt,
May all the curses which they grunt
In raging moan, like goaded hog,
Alight upon thee, damned Bog!
S. T. Coleridge, 1790.

Page 7.—An antiquary suggests that the seven Feoffees or Trustees to whom George, Earl of Huntingdon, granted the chief site in the village in 1533—on which site now exists "a very substantial and capacious building of that period"—were probably a Guild. It certainly looks as if it were a sort of Village Corporation, and this their Guild Hall. Many such buildings remain, but they have generally gravitated to eleemosynary uses, and are now, as in this instance, in the hands of the Charity Commissioners. The interior of this building is one great frame of heavy oak beams and solid oak slabs. Till two or three years since, the windows had all moulded oak mullions, and between them thick, twisted, iron stanchions. Such a building would be useful for many purposes:—for a company of soldiers on their way to head-quarters; for the retainers of a dignitary, or any great man; for a school; for an occasional hospital; for public meetings; for various forms of popular instruction and amusement. Its construction made it a little fortress, and at the same time put it in the power of the parish to keep the inmates shut up for the night, and the day too, if necessary. It is a subject well worth investigation, especially as in all country parishes there is the want of some such building, equivalent to the Town Hall of a larger community. As an illustration of the perversion of this building from its original uses to those of this day, not very long since there were seen five old women boiling their five kettles at

five separate fires made on the one capacious hearth, and under the one capacious mantelpiece of one of the rooms.

Page 10.—In two literary periodicals of high authority it has been suggested that the identification of the presumed portraits chiefly depends on the Rebus, and that the arrangement of the hoops on the tun, or small cask, forming part of the vessel in the hand of the youth, may be accidental. Upon this it is proper to observe that the tun or cask is of the exact shape and proportionate size of the smaller cyder firkin carried by every boy in the cyder growing villages of Devonshire. This is about six inches long, and holds a quart. In the middle of the bilge of a firkin is a projecting mouthpiece, through which is a drinking hole. The cyder is not drunk, in the strict sense of that word, but poured down the throat by properly elevating the firkin, and turning it round till the contents trickle out. The operation is not an easy one, and requires one to be born and bred to it, for the first essay is sure to be disastrous. To leave room for the mouthpiece, which occupies a third of the length of the firkin, as well as for reasons of construction, the hoops are placed towards the two ends, and cannot possibly be in the middle. To the Devonshire intelligence a hoop round the middle would be so singular as to raise the question what it could possibly mean. That is, it would at once be known to be an emblem, not a common firkin. At the aisle end of the bench immediately before the Screen is a standard, carved into the Rebus of Thomas Goodwyn, through whose family the manor was divided into four parts, *tempore* Elizabeth. A vine, with four large clusters of grapes, rises out of a jar, and bears aloft a shield with the Clothier's badge of T. Goodwyn. A vine growing out of a tun, the rebus of Winton, or a bolt, that is an arrow, run right through a tun, could not be an accidental caprice: it must have a particular significance.

Page 16.—It has been asked in several quarters whether it was usual to introduce contemporary personages into representations of sacred subjects. This is often seen in foreign collections, and if it be not in this country, the reason is obvious. There was very little painting here before the Reformation, except in Churches, and what there was nearly all disappeared at that date. Few people can be aware of the very little England has to show in this matter in comparison with the works of the fifteenth century abounding in the immediately neighbouring countries. A single instance, however, is an exact parallel, and has a direct and important bearing on the

group before the reader. It is described in the *Annual Register*, 1800, under the head of Principal Occurrences, October 31.

"The alterations in the House of Commons, preparatory to the "meeting of the Imperial parliament, began in August. The oaken "wainscoting at each side has been removed, and this removal gives "again to the view the venerable walls of what was once St. "Stephen's Chapel. The Gothic pillars (Qy. piers), the finished scroll "work, and the laboured carvings, are, generally speaking, in good "preservation. But what is more remarkable is, that the paintings "which still fill the interstices, having been protected from the "action of the air for so many centuries, are, in many parts, as fresh "and vivid as if they could only boast a twelvemonth's date. In "the right-hand corner behind the Speaker's chair, and about five "feet from the ground, there is a Virgin and Child, with Joseph "bending over them, well preserved, and tolerably executed in colour, "and Edward III. and his queen and suite making their offering "to the Virgin," &c.

As St. Stephen's Chapel was rebuilt by Edward III. in 1347, it is probable that these paintings were done in the lifetime of that king.

Assuming the figures in the present group to be historical, it has been asked whether the aged man be not after all Cardinal Bourchier, whose Christian name, with the date 1574, are on the back of the Screen, besides his "knot" on the front. In reply, it may be observed that the Screen is of different dates. The six paintings north of the chancel gates are very quaint indeed, of a style twenty or thirty years earlier than the present group. Assuming that the king is Henry VII., and it cannot be reasonably doubted, we have to ask who is the boy in the rank of a prince, and who is the aged man. Bourchier died six months before the birth of Prince Arthur. He crowned Henry VII., as he had crowned Edward IV. and Richard III., while of the sovereign between the two all the account he had to give was that he had duped the unhappy mother to surrender the youth into his hands, and that he had conveyed him into the hand of a murderer. He had quite lost the respect of the nation, and was never in Henry's counsels. Why should he be resuscitated to appear in this group in company with one who was not for a day his contemporary ?

Page 21.—The Rev. John E. Cheese, Vicar of Bosbury, has supplied some interesting particulars of Morton's family. Matthew de Mortonia held the manor of Milbourne at the time of the Domesday

survey. His descendant, Richard, married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Tuberville, of Bere Regis, a lineal descendant of Sir Pagan de Tuberville, one of the twelve knights who accompanied the Conqueror from Normandy, and was the father of the Cardinal. Sir Rowland Morton, said to be youngest brother of the Cardinal, acquired the Grange and the lands at Bosbury, in Herefordshire. He there built and endowed a school and a chantry, under the fine groined roof of which he lies buried. The present representative of the Morton family is J. C. Mansel Pleydell, of Whatcombe, Blandford. It appears from the above that the family "migration from Nottinghamshire" must refer to a temporary sojourn in that county. Mr. Mansel Pleydell possesses an old MS. memoir of the Cardinal which it is to be hoped will be one day given to the world. He states decisively that the Cardinal was born, not in the parish of Bere Regis, but at Milborne, St. Andrews.

It illustrates the confusion of the fifteenth century that upon the age attained by its most remarkable personage there should still be a question with so great a divergence as ten years. Was Morton eighty or ninety years old when he died? The late Dean of Chichester adopted what seems the safer alternative; but that there is something to be said on the other side appears from the following notes supplied by Mr. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott:—"John Morton was in 1437 "[when Bishop Sydenham bequeathed him a pontifical and manual; "Reg. Chichele, fo. 463] Chancellor of the church of Chichester, [so "in 1439; Reg. Praty. fo. 12.; Pat. Rot. 15 Hen. V.; MS. Harl. 6963. "fo. 27 b.; 3 Hen. VI.; 6963 fo. 12, and in the same year made an "exchange for other preferment with John Fawkes].

"John Morton was Archdeacon of Chichester after 1459, when "John Sprievier was archdeacon [Reg. Wheathampstead I. 336] and "before 1473, when William Skylton was archdeacon [Swayne MS., "715].

"John Morton became R. of All Saints', Hastings, 18 Hen. VI. "S. Clement's, 17 Hen. VI.; these were probably the exchange with "John Fawkes [who was chaplain of the Chantry of the Abbey of "Robertsbridge at the Lady altar]."

If the Cardinal did indeed attain to the age of ninety, it is one of the many instances proving the salutary effect of mental vigour and activity on the vital powers.

Page 54.—The report in the *Year Book* of the case of an Executor charged with collusive dealing with a debtor to the testator's estate, was quoted by Mr. F. O. Haynes to illustrate the confusion

of law, equity, and religion, prevailing at the period. It was therefore quoted by that writer only so far as the purpose required. He has now kindly sent the whole of what is in the *Year Book*, unless, he adds, the case is reported again in a later stage. From the closing words,—"but I will hear this argued,"—it appears the judgment was not final:—

"Un *Subpena* in le Chauncery fuit sue, p̄ ceo q̄ deux executors "fueront, & lun releas sauns lassent de son cōpagnion a un q̄ fuit "endet a lour testator, et fuit surmitte que son volunte pur cest "cause ne poet estre performe, et *Subpena* fuit sue vers lexect̄ que "rel', et cesty a que le releas fuit faīt, &c.—*Fineux*, dit que nest "remediable, car chesc executor ad entier poiar aparluy, et lun poit "faire tout ceo q son cōpaigniô puissoit faire, et issint le releas fait "p̄ luy bone.

"*Le Chanceller, nullus recedat a curia cancellariæ sine remedio*, "et est encount reason q̄ lun executor auera touts les biens, et ferra "un release sole.—*Fineux*, Sir donques *si nullus recedat sine remedio* "*ergo nullus indiget esse confessus*, Mes Sir le ley de le terre est pur "mults choses, et mults choses sont deê sues icy que ne sont reme-"diable a le comen ley, et assets sont en cōscience parentre un home "et son confessor, et issint est cest chose, &c.

"*Le Chanceler*, Sir, jeo scay bien que chescun ley est ou de droit "doet estre accordant al ley de dieu. Et le ley de dieu est q̄ un "Executor que est de male disposition ne expender touts les biens, "&c. Et jeo scay bn̄ si issint soit, et ne fait amends ou ratificatiō, "si il soit de pair, ou nest voilent de fair restitution si il fuit de poiar "il serr̄ dampne in Helle, &c. Et p̄ faire remedie pur tiel chose coē "jeo entend est bien fait accord al cōscienz, &c. Et le testament "est *constituo tales esse executores meos ut ipsi disponant*, &c. Et issint "le poiar deux est joyntment et nemy severalmt. Et issint si lun "fait un act sans son compagnion, īl ceo fait sans ascun garrantie. "Et aut ē *pro salute animæ meæ*, &c., mes si ils mispende ceo nest "ouesq lour garrantie, &c. Et Sir jeo scay bien in vostre comen ley "si vous faits cōmissiō dēquirer p le peace vous ne purres arreigner "les felons. Et in un letter datturney pur deliver seisin dun acre "de terres, si il deliver deux, il est sans garrantie *& nihil operatur*. "Sir in le case icy le testament est lour poiar, et darrain volonte de "lour testator, et sils excedont et font contrary, &c., quel est bon "deē remedie come jeo entend, &c., mes jeo voile ore ceo argue," &c.

Page 69.—In a very interesting article on Lambeth Palace in the *Quarterly Review*, July 1878, we find:

"It is singular that one of the earliest recorded consecrations "at Lambeth was that of Baldwin, A.D. 1180 . . . and that no other "archbishop was consecrated here till Cardinal Morton, just three "hundred years after, who became in his turn a liberal benefactor "to Lambeth."

"No doubt on the site of that older one—the gateway mentioned "in the *Computus Ballivorum* of Archbishop Reynolds—arose, some "160 years after, the present noble pile, always known as Morton's "Gateway, which forms a conspicuous portion of the extensive "repairs carried on by that princely prelate; for he found Lambeth "in a ruinous state after the destructive wars between the Houses "of York and Lancaster. A wide-spanned Tudor doorway, with a "smaller one beside it, having richly moulded arches, and a four "light perpendicular window above, constitute the two-storied centre, "which is flanked by two large massive square towers, five stories "high, the entire range being heavily battlemented. The pile of "buildings, with its fine red brickwork and stone dressings, presents "a worthy portal to the Archiepiscopal Palace. Scarcely can England "produce a finer specimen of that age and style of architecture in "so good a state of preservation. Indeed, in size and height, in "elegance of workmanship and harmony of design, Morton's Gateway "may almost claim to be without a contemporary rival. Other such, "which may have vied with it in past time, have crumbled away, "or have been demolished or improved out of all the original cha-"racter, while this stands unchanged and little injured at the close "of the fourth century."

"On entering, the bold groining of the roof and the graceful "proportions of the loftier and wider open arch of the north face "at once attract the eye. On the right hand a small arched doorway "gives admission to the central room, now used as the porter's lodge. "Immediately outside the large arch, running down its angle, is a "substantial leaden water-pipe, on the spout of which appears "distinctly a *tun*, the rebus of the founder's name," &c. Then follows a minute description of the internal arrangements and apartments of the tower, including those believed to have been the Archbishop's parlour, bedroom with a recess for the bed, muniment room and audience chamber, all much in the same state as four hundred years ago.

"The Chapel found in Archbishop Morton its most liberal bene-"factor. He filled all the windows with stained glass, probably of "the richest which the later years of the fifteenth century, so rich

"in that art, could produce. According to Archbishop Laud's "account, they told the whole story from the creation of man to "the day of judgment, the two side lights containing the types of "the Old Testament, and the middle light the Antitype or Verity "of Christ in the New. But when Laud came to the See he found, "to use his own words, 'those goodly windows shameful to look "'on, all diversely patched like a beggar's coat.' He immediately "entered upon the pious work of reparation, a work which indeed "furnished one of the grave charges brought against him by his "Puritan enemies, that he had restored the superstitious imagery "from an illuminated mass-book, while he had in reality taken "from the *Biblia Pauperum;* that he had introduced a crucifix in "the east window, which was probably nothing more than the "representation of the Crucifixion. In vain did he affirm that he "had done nothing more than restore the original design; his "enemies were only too eager to convict and condemn him; and "when, a few years after, they had succeeded in sacrificing him, "and gaining possession of his palace, they wreaked their wanton "and unreasoning vengeance on those beautiful works of art, those "memorials of a piety they could not understand, until not a "fragment remained."

That a Cardinal Archbishop should live over his own gateway does not agree with modern ideas; but the edifice itself presents nothing incompatible with the occasional residence of a high functionary. Its harmonious proportions disguise its real dimensions. Besides the large and lofty room directly over the gateway, each of the two wings is as capacious as a good London house, containing five stories of a good height, well lighted, and forty feet deep inside. The internal width of one wing is about twenty feet, of the other about sixteen feet, increasing every stage by the diminishing thickness of the wall. Some of the stories are divided by old or new partitions; but most of them remain large rooms, fit either for dwelling or for audience chambers, or for courts of justice. The beams and rafters are very solid, and elaborately moulded. The walls of the principal rooms are cased with smooth oak slabs nicely joined, and some of them were originally covered with rush tapestry, of which some rolls remain in good condition. The spiral stone staircase is spacious, well lighted, and easy of ascent, and if an Archbishop chose to hold courts or receptions on extraordinary occasions, without admitting the public to the interior of the palace, the great gateway would afford ample accommodation for that purpose.

Page 87.—In a notice of this work in a local publication, Mr. Robert Dymond, F.S.A., gives the following very interesting particulars of the Monk family:—"Those who take their walks abroad in the "neighbourhood of Exeter must often have noticed, in Madford-lane, "a curious and now decaying mansion, evidently dating from the "end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. This "once handsome structure was built for his own habitation by Sir "George Smyth, a prosperous merchant, who filled the office of "Mayor of Exeter in 1586 and 1607, and represented Exeter in the "Parliament of 1603. The name of Madford (recently corrupted "to *Matford*) was no doubt adopted by Sir George from the place of "his second wife's birth, near Launceston. He was succeeded at his "death in 1619 by his son and heir, Nicholas, who also won the "honour of knighthood, and who dwelt at Larkbeare House; but "Sir George's connection with the subject now before us [the actors "in the Restoration] originated in the marriage of his daughter "Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Mouncke, or Monk, of Potheridge, near "Bideford. Her husband's Christian name being duly perpetuated "in her first son, Lady Monk desired to hand down those of her "father and brother in her next children. These were accordingly "christened George and Nicholas, the mother little dreaming that "her two infants were destined to attain far greater distinction than "the grandfather and uncle whose names they bore. George became "in fact the foremost man in England, for he was none other than "the famous General, Duke of Albemarle, to whom the Stuarts "owed their restoration to the throne; whilst Nicholas, adopting "the clerical profession, became successively Curate and Rector of "Plymtree, and finally Bishop of Hereford."

Page 88.—Camden, who lived through Mary, Elizabeth, and nearly to the death of James, testifies to the place which Archbishop Morton still held in the admiration and gratitude of the people, and to the constant association of the Rebus with his name. He does this while commenting on the quaintness and absurdity of the fashion of Rebuses—an importation from France—and on the universal use of them by all classes:—"Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, a man "of great wisdome and borne to the universal good of this realme, "was content to use *mor* upon a ton, and sometimes a mulberry tree, "called *Morus* in Latine, out of a ton."

Page 90.—The statement, repeated in various forms, that N. Monk had for some time held a small living near the Grenvilles before

he was presented to Kilkhampton, without the mention of Plymtree, seemed best explained by supposing the name of that village forgotten, and some error as to the distance—"within twelve miles of Kilkhampton," according to one of these authorities. But Mr. J. I. Dredge, Vicar of Buckland Brewer, has kindly supplied information which leaves no doubt that the "little cure" or moderate living spoken of was Langtree. A Parliamentary Visitation, of which the records are in the British Museum and in the Library of Lambeth Palace, reports as follows:—"Langtree Parish, a Parsonage, "Nicholas Monke incumbent, a preaching minister. The Tithes "worth eighty pounds per annum, the glebe fifteen pounds per "annum. The Parish served commonly by Theophilus Powell, a "constant preaching curate. His salary forty pounds per annum. "No chapels. The Church and Parish fit to stand as it is." From this it appears that N. Monk did not reside there. Theop. Powell, the curate in charge, had been turned out of the vicarage of Great Torrington about the year 1646, chiefly for a sermon on 1 Pet. ii. 17, "Fear God, honour the king." N. Monk gave him employment at Langtree, and upon N. Monk resigning that living in 1659, Theop. Powell succeeded. His, probably, is the bold hand which records in the first page of the new Register of Langtree the beheading of Charles I. by his own subjects, the restoration of Charles II. and his coronation on St. George's Day next year, concluding with *Vivat Rex.*

The same Parliamentary Visitation reports: "Pimtree (*sic*) Mr. "Nicholas Moncke, a preaching minister supplying the cure, being "a Parsonage, which together with the glebe is worth per annum "one hundred pounds. Abraham Webber, William Pratt, Surveyors."

Page 106.—When the writer observed that the history of the Restoration had yet to be written, he was not aware that Mr. Masson, in his *Life of John Milton and History of his Time*, had just treated this period with great care and research.

Page 123.—Though the citizens of London did not think much of Monk's soldiers, Pepys, young as he was, recognized under their jaded and weather-beaten exterior that they were men who could be depended upon. It must surprise some readers that there is so little cotemporary comment on what really was one of the most remarkable events of English history—the occupation of the metropolis by an army from Scotland. One reason of this silence is curious, and illustrates the familiarity with revolution which men had now come

to. London was that day more interested in a great cause then being tried at Westminster on the alleged misappropriation of a charitable endowment, than it was on the question between a commonwealth and a monarchy. Perhaps this circumstance illustrates still more strongly the law-abiding character of this country, and that the seat of justice is the only unshaken throne of the land.

Page 135.—The name of Pepys ought not to have been omitted from the small band of faithful men who stuck to their posts during the Plague.

Page 147.—Most of the figures on the Rood Screen still wait for their interpretation. A well-known Church antiquary, who has not seen them, sends the following suggestions :—

2. S. Matthias, possibly.

17. S. Roche's Day was the general Harvest Home.

18. S. Raphael leads a youth.

21. S. Lucy, or Tredevald, Scotticè ; or Otilia.

22. S. Odilo, abbot.

23. S. Osyth, or Citha. She has keys and a rosary on Barton Turf Screen.

24. S. Anselm has the vision of our Lady, and is therefore probably not here. Is this St. Cyr ?

25. As S. Elizabeth is always crowned, this is probably S. Dorothea.

29. S. Bride, or perhaps rather S. Frideswide.

30 S. Romuald.

33. This is probably not S. Barbara, who has always a tower.